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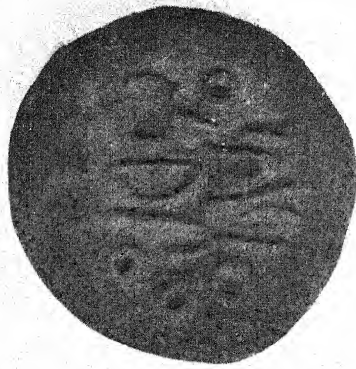
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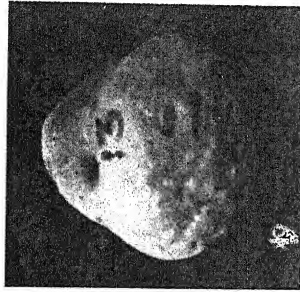
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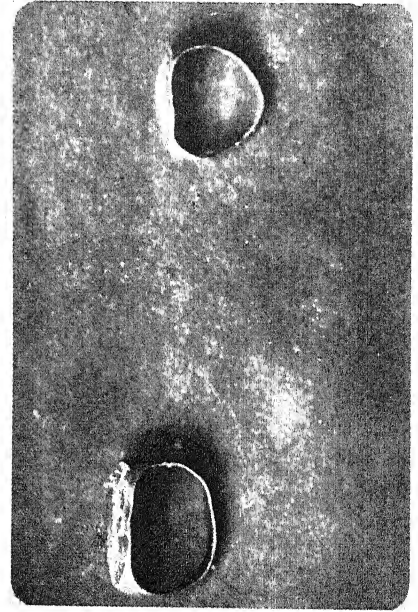


No. 1. Original Seal.

Plate 1.



No. 2. Maurya Mould.



No. 3

No. 3

No. 4



Gold Signet Rings.

Some Unpublished Seals.

Impressions.

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VOL. XX.]

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[PART 1.

Leading Articles

Some Unpublished Seals

By K. P. Jayaswal

I. Mauryan

No. 1. Seal of Budhaputra, (c. 350-300 B.C.).

Patna Museum, No. 13, Kumhrār S. VI. It was excavated by Dr. Spooner in 1914-15 at Kumhrār (*A S R., E C.*, 1914-15, p. 58).

It is a round (convex) clay seal (matrix), though unbaked, very hard and strong. Its diameter is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". It was found at a depth of 13 ft. Its reading (as '*Budharakhitasa*') and description of the lettering ('*seemingly out of place*') as given by Dr. Spooner are incorrect.

The writing is boustrophedonic—one line reading from right to left and the succeeding one, just the opposite way. The legend is deeply incised to produce the usual relief letters on a sealing. On the margin there are a number of circles as decoration. Assuming the legend on the matrix to be in the negative, I am reproducing a positive impression.

It reads from right to left in the first line and then from left to right in the second. Its letters are :

Budha-pu- (r. to l.)

tasa [(l. to r.)

i. e., '(the signature) of *Budhaputa*, (Budhaputra, or, Buddha-putra).' The letters and the style resemble those of the Eran coin of *Dhamapāla* (*C. CAL.*, pl. xi, no. 18) The *dh*, *p* and *s* have their loops to the right, just as in the Eran coin,

The style of writing and the general archaic form of the letters indicate its date to be c. 350-300 B. C.

No. 2. Maurya mould for casting *Mudrās* (Passports).

Patna Museum, No. 286. $2\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{7}{8}''$. This mould is cut in a soft stone (steatite). It is only one-half portion of the mould ; the lower-half is missing. A lid was fastened on the top, for which there are two holes. There is a channel to pour in molten metal. There is also a thinner channel for the outlet of compressed air.

There is a bird in the mould, which looks somewhat like a peacock but more like *Garuḍa*. Below the beak there is the monogram of the *Moon-on-Hill*, which I have identified as the monogram of Chandragupta Maurya (*E I.*, XXI, and my Baroda speech). The Monogram is on the Kumhrār stone pillar at the bottom. The hill-representation is only partial in this half portion of the mould.

The mould was for casting *mudrās* to be used probably as passports (*AS.*, ch. 55), for which a price was charged by the State.

The original is in the negative. I am reproducing the mould in the positive. The mould casts the bird-figure and the monogram in relief. The mould is deeply incised to produce a beautifully modelled figure. It has a fine workmanship of the type of the Maurya *maṅkara* signet-ring (golden) from Kumhrār (No. 3 below). It may be recalled here that Aśoka gave a *Garuḍa* capital to one of his pillars, which was existing in the time of the Chinese pilgrim.

The mould was discovered by Rai Sahib Manoranjan

Ghosh at the Bulandibagh palisade excavation, 1927, from a depth of 5' 4". Glass seals in Maurya Brāhmī were found at the site, the earliest of which *Abhayavarman's*, (*J B O R S.*, 1924, p. 189) was found at a depth of 7' 6", and of *Devakakṣita* (No. 5, below) at a depth of 6' 8". Mr. Ghosh thinks that owing to villagers' operation for habitation at the site the levels had been previously disturbed. The Maurya level at the Pāṭaliputra Excavations is 17ft., according to the report of Dr. Spooner (*A S R.*, 1912-13, pp. 60-62). This level is lower than that at other places on account of the Kumhrār area having been subjected to inundation. At Rāmpurwā the Maurya level was found at 13ft. From our experience of the Maurya sites, the Maurya level would be generally at a depth of 14ft. for the time of Chandragupta and about 13ft. for that of Aśoka. Some seals and other small objects like our passport mould might have been thrown up by artificial disturbances in subsequent times or they might have been in possession of later generations.

The area from which the mould comes was near the Maurya mint, for at the very place "numerous"* cast coins were found and several pieces so found were in crude stages — unseparated, and unused. The direction in the *AŚ.*, for the location of the royal store-houses and works in the capital fortress (*daṣṣhina paśchima*, ch. 25) would agree for the mint having been at Bulandibagh.

Nos. 3 and 4 Gold signet-rings.

No. 3. Patna Museum, No. 17B., 1916. Its diameter (widest) is 7/10" and weight, grains 60·2. It is of pure gold.

Dr. Spooner discovered it at a depth of 12' 9" (*AR.*, *EC.*, 1915-16, p. 30). Sir John Marshall considered it to be Mauryan in age.

It is a man's signet-ring used for sealing documents. The design is of a *maṣṣara-toraṇa*, two makaras facing in opposite

* Dr. Spooner, *AR.*, *EC.*, 1914-15, p. 49. The coins were at a depth of 14' 6" (to 21" later years' excavations).

directions. We know from later inscriptions that *Maṅkara-toraṇa* was a Hindu imperial mark as early as the Vākāṭaka period. It seems to have come down, on the evidence of this signet, from Maurya times. The *AS.* also seems to describe it [ch. 24] *godhā mukham gopuram*. The seal was most likely an official seal.

Its workmanship is very fine. The figure is produced by small dots sunk on the gold surface, somewhat similar in technique to the gold plaque of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan.

No. 4. Patna Museum, No. 366. It is in weight 19.5 grs. It was discovered by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh in the year 1927 at Bulandibagh from the loose earth of the excavation.

In workmanship it is allied to No. 3. The figure here is a conventional *maṅkara*, of the dragon type, like the one at Sañchī (Maisey, *Pl. XXI*)

This signet is on a lady's ring.

For the style of these gold rings compare a similar ring (non-signet) found at Besnagar (*A R S.*, 1915-16, p. 15).

No. 5. Glass Seal of Devarakshita, (c. 250 B.C.).

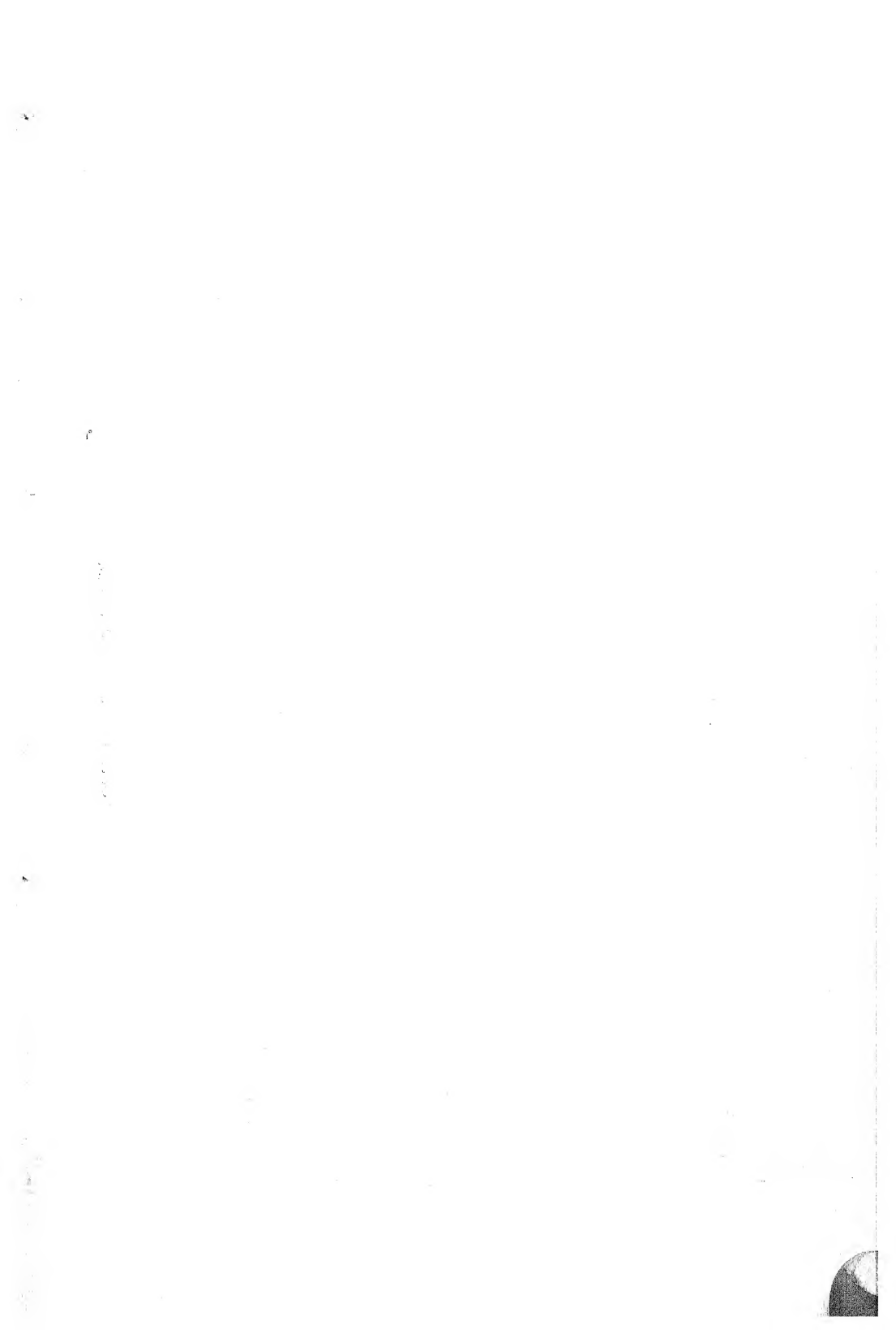
Patna Museum, No. 228.

This is a seal in green glass just like those published in *J B O R S.*, 1924, plate facing p. 189. It was discovered by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh in his excavation of 1927-28 (Bulandibagh palisades), from a depth of 6' 8". The letters are *Aśoka Brāhmī*, and legend is boustrophedonic :

Deva-la (l. to r.)

Khitaśa (r. to l.)

The language of the legend is pure *Māgadhī*. The lettering is in the positive and in relief. It is a sealing, cast in glass instead of clay. It is difficult to imagine the purpose of these glass seals. They could not have been attached to documents. From the same mould sealings more than one must have been cast. They seem to have been made for the purpose of setting in necklaces etc. to denote ownership.

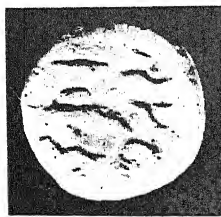




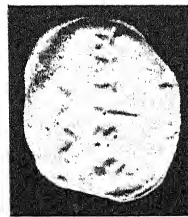
No. 5



No. 6



No. 7



No. 8



No. 9



No. 10

Some Unpublished Seals.

No. 6. Seal of Hasika (c. 280 B.C.).

Patna Museum, No. 5, KS., I, dug out by Dr. Spooner at Kumhrār from a depth of 5' 6" in the year 1912-13, is a sealing in baked clay. The letters are in relief. They belong to the early Maurya age. They read

Haśi

ḥaśa

On the back there is no mark of string ; the back is plain.

No. 7. Seal of Sidha-rakshita (c. 200 B.C.).

Patna Museum, No. 7504, is a seal (matrix) dug out by Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S., from the well-known but unexplored mound at Ghoṛā-kaṭorā (Giriyek, Patna District) noticed by Cunningham. The most projecting point of the mound on the river was excavated by Mr. Chaudhuri (at his own cost). It disclosed a house with small rooms built in different ages—with Maurya bricks, and Gupta bricks. The room built with Maurya bricks yielded seal No. 7, the rooms built with later bricks yielded the other two seals described below (Nos. 8 and 10). The ages of the letters of the seals agree with the accepted notions for the age of similar bricks found elsewhere.

The seal is of burnt clay. The letters are deeply incised in the negative. I reproduce here an impression. It reads, in characters of c. 200 B. C. or little earlier, as follows :

Sidhara. (l. to r.)

ḥhitasa (l. to r.)

that is, '(the sig.) of *Siddharakṣhita*.'

The seal diameter is 16/15".

II. Post-Mauryan**No. 8. Seal of Kumāra-Dasa (Kumāra Darśa),
(c. 250-300 A. D.).**

Patna Museum, No. 7506. It is a clay sealing. The legend is in relief (positive). It bears a serpent on the top, and seems to belong to the Nāga period. It is pre-Guptan

in script. It has on the back the mark of a string to which it had been attached on a document. The sealing is baked. It reads :

Kumāra-Dasasa

that is '(the sig. of) *Kumāra*(Prince)*Darśa*.'

It was found by Mr. Chaudhuri as described above. It is 7/8" long and 3/4" wide.

No. 9. Rudradeva's carnelian seal (c. 300 A.D.) from Nagpur District.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal sent me two lac impressions of this seal, which belongs to Mr. W. C. Griegson, I. C. S., Commissioner, Nagpur, Central Provinces. It was discovered in the lands of a villager at Nagardhan (Nāgarvardhana), District Nagpur, C. P. It is a seal (matrix), with exquisitely cut letters in the negative. The fine execution and the style of letters bring it in line with the Vākāṭaka seals at Bhīṭā (J.B.O.R.S., XIX, p. 294). The semi-precious nature of the material and the addition *deva* to the name offer the temptation of identifying the original owner as a Vākāṭaka sovereign.

No. 10. Seal of Dhava Sarmmā (5th century A.D.).

Patna Museum, No. 7505. This is another clay sealing discovered by Mr. Chaudhuri at Ghoṛā-kaṭorā (see Nos. 7 & 8 above). The impression is in relief (positive), $1\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $\frac{1}{8}$ " wide.

It bears the representation of a well-executed bull. It reads, in regular Gupta characters, *Dha(or Dhu)va Ś a r m m (ā)*

N.B.—Two of the above seals (Nos. 2 and 5) were published in *ASR.*, 1926-27, p. 139, pl. XXXI, g & i; but their importance was not realized.

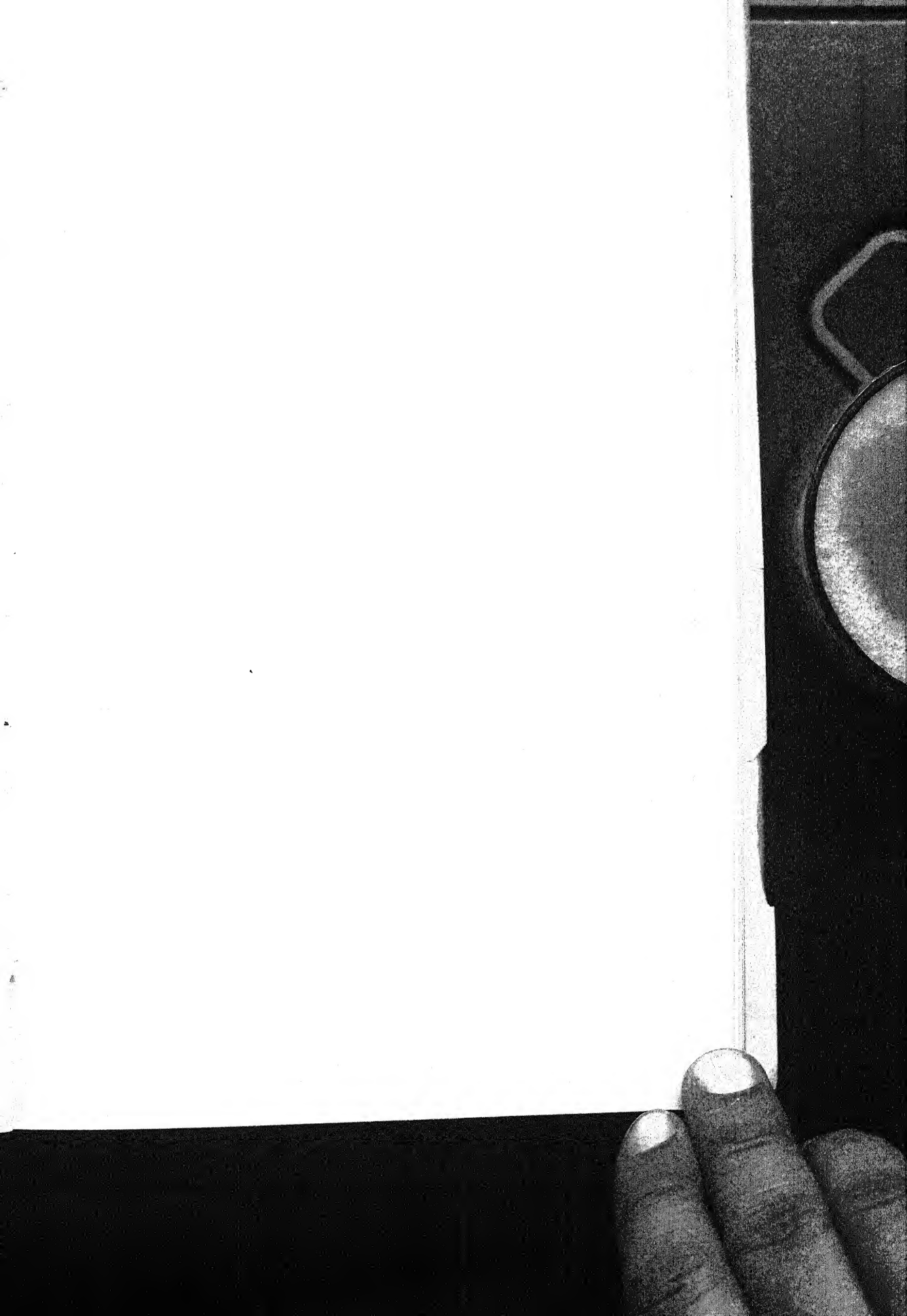


Plate 1.

1

2

3

5



⁶
Six Unique Silver Coins of the Sungas.

Six Unique Silver Coins of the Śuṅgas

By K. P. Jayaswal

The coins described here have been generously presented to Patna Museum by my friend Mr. Durga Prasad, the well-known numismatist of Benares. I and the Committee are grateful to him for adding to the Museum Cabinet these coins which are all unique. Two of these record new kings, whom I shall call the kings of Mathurā, for the coins have come from Mathurā and the symbols are not assignable to any known class of coins.

Two kings of Mathurā

Sumitra

No. 1. This is a coin of the king *S u m i t r a*, who should be identified with the Sumitra of the *Harshacharita*, a Śuṅga prince, son of Agnimitra and grandson of Pushyamitra. The script agrees with those of the early Śuṅga time. The legend is

R a ñ o S u m [i] t a s a

The letters are arranged on the margin round the cross with *m*'s design. There is a space left after *Su*, probably to match the similar space opposite.

The reverse has a human figure, standing on a river. There is a hill design, as on the coins of *Bahasatimitra*. This was copied from the previous dynasty. The river here is probably the Yamunā.

The weight is 51·2 grs. The coin is a neat die-struck piece.

Ajadeva

No. 2. This coin is of *A j a d e v a*. The symbolism is the same as on coin No. 1. The letters are of c. 150 B. C. Both these coins form a connected series. The second is cruder in execution, just as after *Bahasatimitra* the Pañchāla series declines in artistic taste. The legend reads

R a ñ o A j a d [e] v a...

The weight is 126·2 grs. Both the coins are of alloyed silver.

Sūryamitra

No. 3. This is a coin of *Sūryamitra*, well-known from his copper coins. But this is his first known silver coin. The legend is as usual on his copper coins *Raño Sugamitasa*. The coin also comes from Mathurā. The weight is 124.5 grs. The material is debased silver.

Dhanadeva

No. 4. This is a silver coin of *Dhanadeva* who is also well known from his copper coins. This is his first known silver coin. The material is alloyed silver; weight, 46.1 grs. The legend reads

Dha de
na va sa

Similar legend on copper coins has been described by Cunningham (*CAL.*, p. 75). *Dhanadeva* has been identified by me as the ruler named in the Ayodhya inscription (*J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 202). Evidently this is an imported coin in the province of Mathurā. On the reverse, there is a bull, and a branch of a tree above.

Āsvaghosha

No. 5. This is the first known silver coin of *Āsvaghosha*. The silver is alloyed. The legend clearly reads *Āsvaghosha*. The script is of the Śunga period. The animal on obverse is a horse, after the name of the king. Probably there is an attempt to combine in the figure the monogram *Gha*. Cunningham could not recognise the figure. There is a king *Bhadra-ghosha* in the *Purāṇas*, whose coin with full name (Kosam mint) we have in the cabinet of the Patna Museum (Hultzsch Collection). *Āsvaghosha* evidently belonged to his family.

This coin was obtained by Mr. Durga Prasad from Kosam.

The weight of the coin is 82.5 grs.

Agnimitra sub Pushyamitra

No. 6. This is a unique coin. It is owned by Rai Bahadur Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta. On the obverse there are the symbols of Vidiśā. In my study of the *Maurya coins* (under publication) I have shown that the cross and balls symbol (the so-called Ujjain symbol) is a Mauryan monogram devised for 'Vidiśā', made up of the letter V (𑀧) done in a four-fold form. This has been found on the coins dug out by Dr. Bhandarkar at Vidiśā (Besnagar). This and the Svastika came down from the Mauryas. The legends read

Ob. *Senāpatisa*
 [p] i t [u] p ā [d a] (s a)

Re. Figure of Agni+mittasa.

That is, the coin was struck by *Agnimitra* under his father the *Senāpati*. We know from the Ayodhyā inscription (JBORS., X) that *Pushyamitra* was called 'Senāpati' in the official documents of the Dynasty. He seems to be styled here as *pitṛipāda* (father). When Agnimitra was the Governor of Vidiśā in his father's time, the coin was issued. According to the Hindu etiquette, the name of the father is not mentioned by Agnimitra.

The name *Agni-mitra* is made up by the monogram—figure and letters.

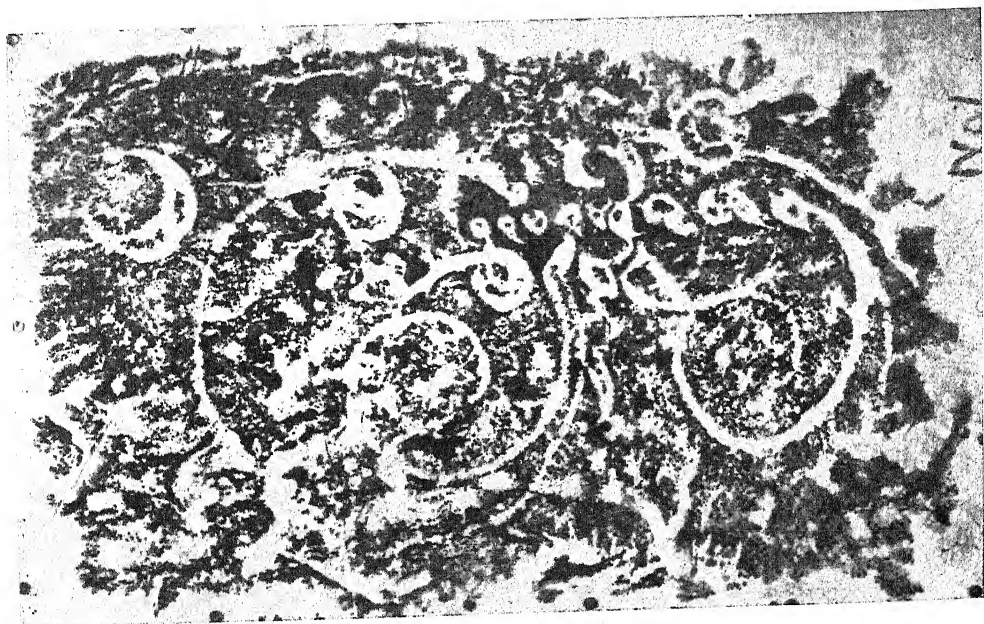
It should be noted that the Obverse legend is in *Aśoka Brāhmī*, while the Reverse letters (*ttasa*) are in a cursive form. Both scripts were current together. The *Aśoka Brāhmī* was something like our print-letters, an archaic monumental form, while the other one was the current form. This is a copper coin (double die).

Unknown Pictographic Script near Ramtek, C.P.

By Dr. G. R. Hunter, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON.).

On the surface of an exposed rock of schist lying on the Western slope of the hillock that bounds Mansar Tank on the south east, and at a distance of about 3 miles from Ramtek in the Central Provinces, occurs an inscription. This inscription is apparently repeated an indefinite number of times on the fairly smooth face of the rock. I say indefinite, as most of the rock surface is still covered with the brick ruins of a Gupta or Vākātaka fortress or palace of the 5th century A.D., and until these have been removed one cannot say how many of these strange legends will be found underneath. Meanwhile on the exposed portion of the rock surface there are apparently nine repetitions of the same theme. One of them is reproduced in the accompanying photograph where it appears about 1/20th of the actual size. The same theme was found on another rock a few yards away again among bricks of the 5th century. This was lying on its side, with its inscription running from top to bottom on its vertical face. It was clear that the rock had been dislodged—perhaps at the time of laying the foundations of the 5th century building.

The rock surface was incised, or rather punched out, to an average depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. We appear to have nine characters, reading from left to right. The characters seem to be deliberately graduated—small on the left increasing in size as the inscription is continued to the right. In all the ten examples that I found, the inscription terminated in large flourishes, which are apparently formed of two snakes with a single head between them. The same motive is found beneath the fourth sign (reading from the left). Above the sixth sign appears an inverted crescent Moon; while to the left on a line with, or above, the axis of the script appear two more crescent Moons. Over the last sign but one appears the solar disc. The orientation of all these inscriptions on the rock



A 'Pictographic Script' near Ramtek, C. P.

J. B. O. R. S. 1933.

PLATE 1

face is from east to west: Not all are due east to west, but all are within the ambit of the sunset's deviations from true west. In other words each of the nine inscriptions will be in the same axis as the rays of the setting sun on certain days of the year. This fact, taken in conjunction with the crescent Moons and the Sun's disc, seems to point to some sort of celestial worship. It is also to be noted that cup-marks appear on the rock, in immediate proximity to, and apparently associated with, the inscriptions. We know that cup marks which abound in this area are the work not of the Āryas, but of the earlier races. This may give us a clue as to who was responsible for these curious engravings. Hardly an Ārya, or any one influenced by Aryan civilization; for, apart from the cup-marks, an Aryan would have used an Aryan script, whereas this script is definitely not Aryan. It has no connection with any known form of Brāhmī or Kharoshthī. It is clearly a pictographic script of sorts. The fifth sign from the left in No. 1 looks like a bull's head. The second sign is perhaps a conch. Again these signs have no resemblance to those of Mohenjo-daro, nor to Sumerian, Minoan, Proto-Elamite, Chinese, or any other pictographic script that I have seen.

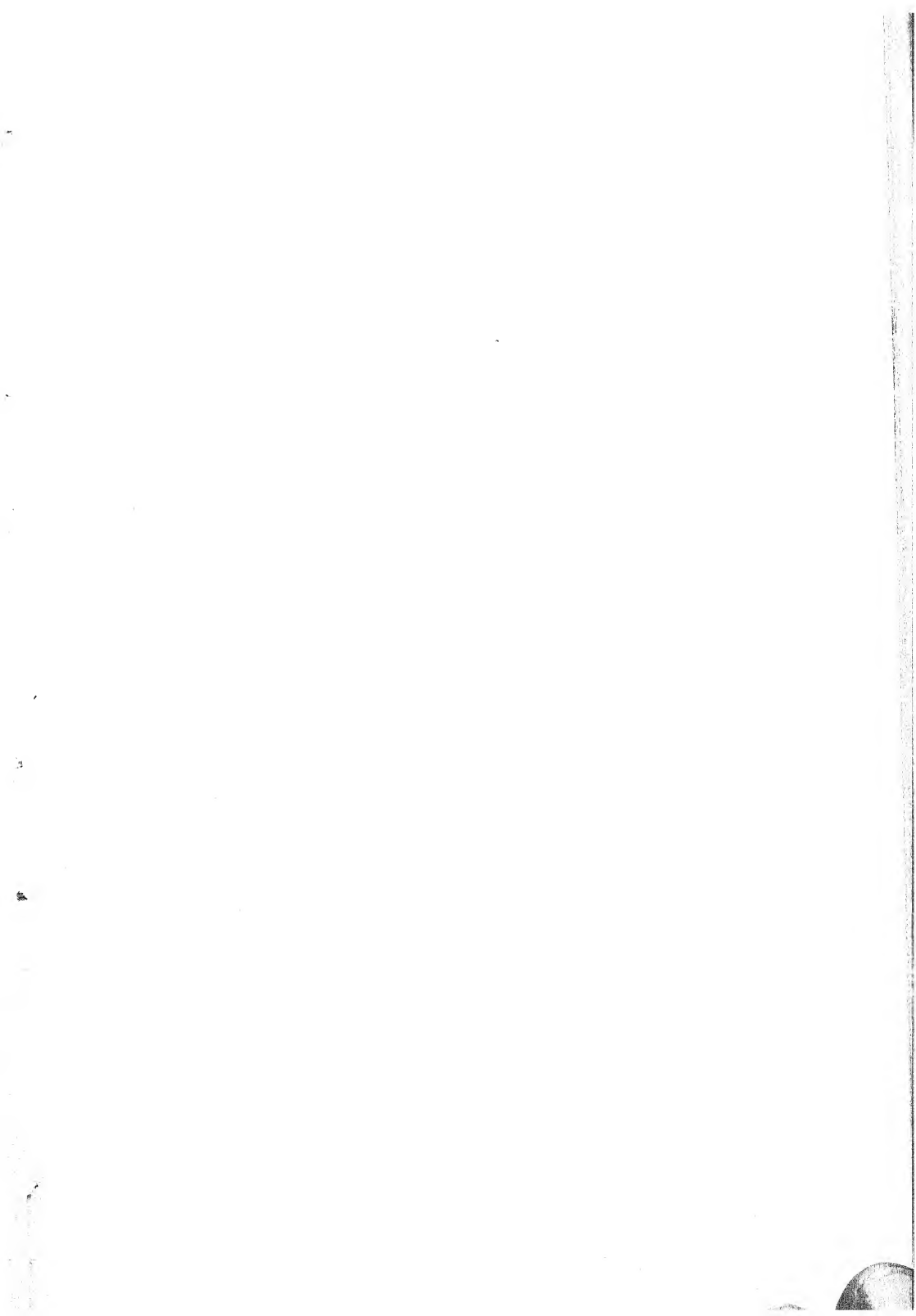
The presumption therefore is that in this Mansar rock-engraving, we have an example of the writing of the folk that lived in the Central Provinces before the Aryan invasions, viz., the Dasyus or Dāsas of the *Rig Veda*. Now these latter included two distinct races: (1) the Pre-Dravidian, represented in the *Vedas* by the Śambaras, and to-day by the Korku of the Mahadeo hills, and (2) the Dravidian people, represented to-day by the Gonds. Probably then one of these, either Korkus or Gonds are responsible for this ancient and forgotten script. Ancient it certainly was, since it is found on bed rock *beneath* a 5th century city¹. Forgotten it certainly is. For in Modern

1 A detached boulder similarly inscribed was found built up into the facing of Mansar tank. As this facing is probably contemporary with the excavation of the tank, and that again with the 5th century city, it is clear that the incomplete inscription on this boulder which was certainly executed before the boulder was detached from the parent rock, is older than Mansar tank.

India none of the ancient scripts save those derived from Brāhmī have survived. But in the time of Pāṇini (4th century B.C.) there was a large number of scripts (*lipi*) in use. There is no reason to suppose, they were all mere variants of Brāhmī or Kharoshthī. Some may have been survivals of pre-Aryan scripts. Since the Pre-Aryan inhabitants had produced a script in the Indus Valley 2,000 years before the Aryans entered India, which however we discovered for the first time only a few years ago: is it not probable that the Pre-Aryans in other parts of India, especially the highly civilized Dravidians of the Peninsula had similarly evolved their own script; and that this Mansar rock-inscription is one example of it? Will Forest Officers, sportsmen, and others who roam the wide open spaces keep their eyes 'open' and let us know if they come across any signs and flourishes like those here illustrated? It will only be by collecting and comparing as many examples as possible that we can hope to arrive at decipherment.*

*[Editor's note : I have seen a somewhat similar writing running from top-to bottom on the Guptan or pre-Guptan temple standing at Tigawān (Dist. Jubbulpore). In my opinion, it is the well-known 'Shell writing.'

The letters have round flourishes and assume a conch-like appearance. Cunningham, on account of its constant occurrence on Gupta buildings considered it to date from the Gupta period. But there is one line in this script at Silharā (Rewah) intimately connected with a record of second century A.D. (*ASR.*, 1927-28, p. 138). It is allied to Brāhmī. See my article in *EL.*, XX.—K.P.J.]





An illustration showing tripod from a Kalpasūtra MS. (circa 15th Cent.)

The Tripod Symbol (Sthāpanāchārya of the Śvetāmbara)

By Nanalal C. Mehta, I.C.S.

I pointed out in my article "A picture roll from Gujrat (A.D. 1433)" in the second issue of the *Indian Art and Letters* for 1932, a mistake of Dr. Coomaraswamy regarding the meaning of a well-known Jaina symbol which he called *hatta-pitha* in his article in *Eastern Art*, vol. ii, page 239. I propose to examine the significance of this symbol in some detail (see for illustrations of the symbol plate 'D' in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. vi, no. 2 ; also plate 1, picture 3 in Coomaraswamy's article in *Eastern Art*, vol. II, page 239; also my *Studies in Indian Paintings*, page 72 plate 30). The symbol (*kasina*) is generally found in the form of a tripod with a conch, a *cowri* or other similar article wrapped and tied in a piece of white cloth, placed on it. The tripod is invariably placed in front of the worshipper—whether belonging to the clergy or the laity. The common name for this symbol is *sthāpanāchārya* which literally means the preceptor of consecration and is intended to represent the presence of the *Guru*.

Hinduism from the earliest times has recognized the worship of symbols, the most familiar examples of which are to be found in the reverence paid by the Buddhists to the feet or the foot-marks of the Buddha. In fact Hinduism recognized early in its religious history the worship of actual images as well as of representative symbols. This is true also of its off-shoots—Jainism and Buddhism. The worship of images was called *tadākāra*, while that of the symbols *a-tadākāra*. Pious Śaivites still worship an oblong black piece of stone known as *Śaligrāma* as representative of the divine Śiva. In the Jaina religion the image-worship of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* is *tadākāra* worship while that of the tripod symbol, *sthāpanāchārya*, is *a-tadākāra*. It is also to be noted that this symbol-worship is only confined to the *Śvetāmbara* sect of the Jinas, despite the fact that the *Digambaras* are also image-

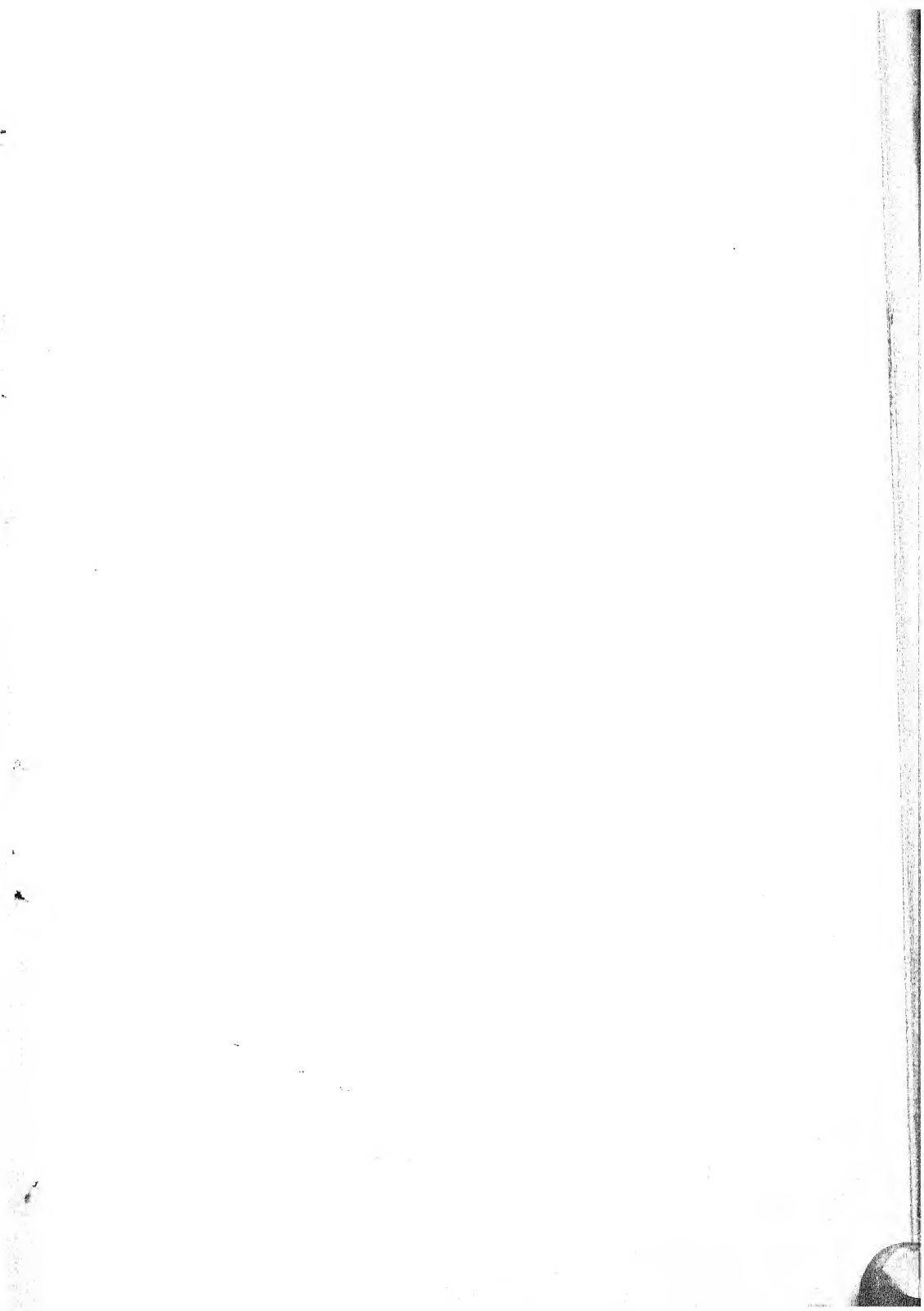
worshippers. It is possible, however, that the latter sect discarded this symbolic worship along with other older traditions. The other sect of the Jainas, *Sthānakavāsīs*, never believed in image-worship and naturally do not use the tripod symbol either in private houses or in temples.

Among the *Śvetāmbaras* the tripod-symbol is in common use both among the *Sādhus* (clergy) and the *Srāvakas* (laity). The object wrapped in a piece of white cloth which may be cotton, wool or silk varies according to the various *gachchhas*. Sandal-wood, for instance, is used in the famous *Kharatara-gachchha*. Sometimes a book or a pen is used as the symbol in which case it is called *a-sthāyī* (temporary) *sthāpanāchārya*.¹ Nobody is allowed to pass between the worshipper and the tripod symbol. The meaning of the symbol is that it represents the preceptor who according to the Jaina Śāstra is one who is endowed with knowledge (*Jñāna*), Faith (*Sraddhā*), Character (*Charitra*), Self-Restraint (*Tapas*) and Capacity for action (*Puruṣārtha*). The object of all Jaina worship is to imbibe these five virtues and hence the presence of this symbolic *Guru*—the very embodiment of these virtues, is enjoined. *Sādhus* are allowed to use even their walking staff as the symbol in case a proper *sthāpanāchārya* is not available. The laity similarly can use a book or any other symbol of knowledge in place of the usual tripod-symbol.

The bulk of Gujarati pictures hitherto known are all concerned with the *Śvetāmbara* sect of the Jainas and it is, therefore, usual to find therein the recurrence of this *sthāpanāchārya motif*. The *motif* itself—the worship of symbols—is at least three-thousand years old.*

¹ Cf. the worship of the *Grantha-Sāhib* by the Sikhs.

* I am indebted for the information given in this note to the veteran Jaina scholar Pt. Sukhlal of Ahmedabad, now Professor at the Benares Hindu University.



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[illegible]

The Kandaha Inscription of King Narasimhadeva

Kandahā Inscription of King Narasimhadeva of Mithilā [Oinwār Dynasty¹], dated S. 1357 (1435 A.D.)

By K. P. Jayaswal.

This is the first inscription of the Oinwār dynasty of Mithilā, which is also called the Kāmeśvara dynasty. The king Narasimhadeva was a contemporary of the poet Vidyapati who has mentioned the king in his books. The inscription gives a definite date of Narasimhadeva, and hence impliedly it affords a reliable date for Vidyapati for the first time.

Kandahā is a village in the district of Bhagalpur, subdivision Madhepurā, 8 miles west from the railway station Saharsa on the Bengal North-Western Railway.

The record is inscribed on two vertical bars of the stone-frame of the door of a temple dedicated to a Sun image called Bhavāditya. The temple has been rebuilt; the original image which is in black stone is still *in situ*, and so is the door-frame which is of the same material.

Pandit Vishnu Lal Śāstrī, our Pandit conducting search for manuscripts in Mithilā, had been instructed by me to make note of, and report to me, if any, inscriptions were existing in Mithilā. He discovered the record, and the staff of the Patna Museum took the impression last year.

The temple of the Sun was made, according to the inscription, under the orders of the King Śrī Narasimhadeva, by a learned man named Vamśadhara, of the family of Vilvapañcha which is identical with the Brahmin

¹ On the history of Mithilā see previous papers in this Journal, IX. 300; X. 37; X. 47; XIII. 296; XIV. 311.

family now called Belaunche in Mithilā. Vardhamāna, the jurist of Mithilā, also belonged to this family.

The inscription begins on the due right, three lines being engraved on it and the other three lines on the opposite bar. The area covered on the right side of the jamb is $4' 1" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$ and on the left $3' 1" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$. The average length and height of the letters are $1\frac{1}{4}"$ and $1\frac{1}{2}"$. The letters show that the present Maithili script has not changed much in the last five centuries. One of the very few features of the change is the position of the dot to the *raḡāra*. It is placed, in the inscription, in the middle of the triangle, while it is given below the letter at present. No distinction between *b* and *v* was made, similar to the present practice.

The name of the second king of the line is peeled off leaving the letters rasiṁhadeva. I have supplied the missing part of the name—one letter [H a]—from manuscripts, where H a r a s i ṁ h a d e v a , father of N a r a s i ṁ h a d e v a and son of B h a v a s i ṁ h a d e v a , occurs. The genealogy found in the inscription is of three kings beginning with B h a v a s i ṁ h a d e v a :

Bhavasimhadeva

[H a]rasimhadeva

Narasimhadeva.

Bhavasimhadeva was black in complexion. The author of the verses of the inscription says that though the person of the king was like that of Śeṣha ('the king of poisonous serpents'), his fame was white. The second king, his son, [H a] r a s i ṁ h a d e v a was a thinker in sacerdotal ceremonies, and the third, 'the donor,' king N a r a s i ṁ h a d e v a was a warrior, and a follower of the political theory of Maya. Maya is cited in the *Kāmandaka* [viii. 20], but his work has not yet been recovered.

The composer of the verses, which are four in number, was Chandra, a *Budha-pāṭakiya*. We know from the mediaeval inscriptions that *pāṭaka* is a territorial designation for a tract of land. Its modern equivalent,

as suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, is *wār* and *wārā*. This is confirmed by the modern Maithila term, *Budhwāre*, a Brahmin family designation, which seems to be the modern representative of *Budha-pāṭakiya*, of *Budha-pāṭaka*.'

I give below the transcript :

Line 1. पृथ्वीपति-द्विजवरो भव [सिंह आ]सीदाशीविपेन्द्र-वपुर्ज्वल
कीर्त्तिराशिः । तस्यात्मजः सकल-कृत्य-विचार-धीरो वीरो (व)भूव वि

Line 2. [...] रसिंहदेव [: ॥] (१). [दोः ?]-स्तम्भ-द्वय-निर्जिता-
हित-नृप-श्रेणी-किरीटोपल-ज्योत्स्नावर्धित-पा

Line 3. द-पल्लव-नख-श्रेणी-मयुखावलिः । दाता तत्तनयो मयोक्तविधिना-
भूमण्डलं

Line 4. पालयन् धीरः श्रीनरसिंह-भूप-तिलकः कान्तोद्युता राजते ॥ (२).
निदेशतोस्यायतनं रवे-

Line 5. -रिदमचीकरत् । विल्वपञ्चकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमद्व'शधरः कृती ॥ (३).
ज्येष्ठे मासि शकाब्दे शराश्व-

Line 6. मदनाङ्कितेस्य गिरा । [बु]घपाटकीयचन्द्रः कृतवानेतानि
पद्यानि ॥ (४).

Translation

Line 1. "The excellent Brahmin B h a v a s i ṁ h a was king. His body was like that of the king of poisonous serpents (i.e. black) but he was a collection of white fame. His son, a thinker in respect of all the rites, and a brave man, was.

Line 2. [H a] r a s i ṁ h a d e v a . (Lines 2 and 3) His son, the donor, is he, the rays of the nails of whose petal-like feet, were increased in lustre by the rays of the precious stones on the diadems of unfriendly rulers conquered by his two pillar-like arms. (Lines 3 and 4) He protects the province according to the system declared by *Maya* ; he, the grave Śrī N a r a s i ṁ h a, the forehead-mark (*tilaka*) of kings, the handsome one, is at present ruling. By the order of his this temple of the S u n (Line 5) is made by the learned and illustrious V a ṁ ś a d h a r a, born in the family of Vilvapañcha. In the month of Jyeshṭha, in the Śaka year figur-

ing as five-seven (Line 6) and thirteen (=1357 Ś.) by the order of the latter, Chandra of Budhapāṭaka has composed these verses."

The date is peculiarly worded. The chronogram is *Sarāśva-Madana*. *Sara* denotes five and *aśva*, seven; and *Madana*, thirteen. Following the rule *aṅkānāṃ vāmato gatiḥ*, "figures' movement is leftwards," the chronogram should be deciphered to be 1375 and not 1357. We, however, know from a contemporary chronogram given by Vidyāpati (JBORS. xiii., 297, 299) where ja (5)—ve (2) (in his *paṅkha-paṅkha-ve ja-ve* 252+52=304 L.S.) reads the other way.

The reason why I do not read the chronogram as 1375 is as follows. We have two contemporary dates for Dhirasiṃha Hṛidaya Nārāyaṇa, son and successor of *Narasiṃhadeva*, which are given in Lakṣmaṇasena years in manuscripts written in his reign: 321² and 327,³ La. Saṃ. Now according to the reckoning current at present in Mithilā La. Saṃ. is obtained by deducting 515⁴ years from the current San (Fasli), the present year (1934 A.D. being La. Saṃ. 826). This system of counting

2 A copy of the *Setu-darpaṇī*, a commentary on the *Setu-bandha* was made in the year 321 of King Lakṣmaṇasena while King Dhirasiṃha was ruling over Mithilā. The MS. was discovered by Mm. Haraprasad Śāstrī; JASB., XI. 426, n. [Rai Bahadur M. Chakravarti wrongly stated that the king's viruda was *Kaṃsa-Nārāyaṇa*; the text does not justify the assumption. रिपुराजकंसनारायण is only a description which is rendered by Lakṣmīnātha as संयानि रिपुराज-कंस-दलन-प्रत्यक्षनारायण: (JASB., XI. 426). The king's second name was Hṛidaya Nārāyaṇa: See Grierson, *IA.*, 1885 p. 196; 1899, p. 58, who is confirmed by the MS. published by me in JBORS., X. p. 47.

3 JBORS., X. 47.

- 4 सन तर शून्य-बाण-वट देव । सीजाँ दय सखत् दुभिलिव ॥
 बाण-नैनहर-इन्दु समेता । सम्बत् कसीदिये हो जयता ॥
 सो शाके जानहु हड़मान । गुरु ज्ञानीजन भाषा भान ॥
 जो सन जहाँ रहे सो देखहु । शर-शशि-बाण हीन कय खिखहु ॥
 बाँकी रहे लसं परमान । गुरु ज्ञानीजन भाषा भान ॥

arose about 1750 A.D., when the dates, both old and new, in L.S. were converted by subtracting 515 years from the lunar, Muhammadan Fasli year (see below). But the earlier reckoning in L.S. was luni-solar, and the earlier dates in manuscripts (see below) yield near about 1119 A.D. as the initial date for L.S. According to the calculation of Kielhorn the initial year of L.S. fell in 1119 A.D. The difference between that and the present calculation is of 11 years, and it would be a natural difference if the years were taken like the Hijri years as purely lunar years. The known date of Dhīrsiṃha, viz. 321 La. Saṃ., in either case, will be either 1429 A.D. or 1440 A.D. (according to the ancient reckoning). And if we take the date in the present inscription to be 1375 Śaka, it would be 1453 A.D., i.e. at least 13 years after the date of Narasiṃha's son Dhīrasiṃha. Hence we have to accept the other interpretation: *Śarāśva*=57, i.e. not 1375 but 1357 Ś.=1435 A.D.

It seems that at that time the chronograms were taken in groups of two figures; those two members were read *vāmato*, but *inter se* each group was read ordinarily e.g. five-seven to be 57, not 75. This is exactly the figure-chronogram already ascertained to have been employed in at least one case, in which it was possible to verify it and find out the true system, Vidyāpati having mentioned two contemporary Muhammadan kings (*JBORS.*, xiii. 297, 299). The confusion which exists in the other dates found in Vidyāpati's songs etc. might be attempted to be solved in the light of that system.

Dating in Lakshmanasena Era

By K. P. Jayaswal

The result of several years of search for manuscripts on the question of the system of dating documents in Mithilā in Lakshmanasena years may now be summarised. There was a terrible confusion in the dates in this era, and scholars could not come to a definite conclusion as to the initial year of the "La. Samvat" reckoning. Kielhorn suggested that the first year of this era began in A.D. 1119-1120 (October to October),¹ while Grierson² and Monmohan Chakravarty³ accepted the modern reckoning as current in Tirhut at present, viz., 1108-1109 A.D. as the initial year of La Sam. As I had to classify into catalogues the fruits of the Government search for manuscripts in Mithilā where dated manuscripts are mostly found with dates in that era, I maintained a statement of those dates discovered in manuscripts which had also a corresponding date in some other era. These corresponding dates were mostly in Śaka era. The statement was started with a view to get decisive data on the initial year of the L.S. era. I give in the annexed table that statement, omitting a few items which are unnecessary and adding No. 1 and No. 4 from older searches made under the Government of Bengal.

1 *IA.*, XIX, (1890), p. 7.

2 *IA.*, 1899, p. 57.

3 *JASB.*, XI, (1915), p. 418

	La. Sam	Sam	Saṃvat	Śaka	[A.D.]	Initial year of L.S.	References
1	374			1416	[1494]	1120	A.S.B., 1915, p. 430.
2	495		1673		[1615]	1120	B.O.R.S. Cat. No. 1210.
3	499			1541	[1619]	1120	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat. Vol. I, p. 198, No. 184B.
4	505			1546	[1624]	1119	R. Mitra, Cat., Vol. VI, p. 13.
5	505			1546	[1624]	1119	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat., Vol. I, p. 411, No. 362A.
6	522			1559	[1637]	1115	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat., Vol. II, 2, p. 24, No. 18.
7	556			1593	[1671]	1115	B.O.R.S. Cat. No. 1048.
8	585			1619	[1697]	1112	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat., Vol. I, p. 27, No. 29B.
9	614			1646	[1724]	1110	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat., Vol. II, 3, p. 84, No. 81.
10	624			1659	[1737]	1113	Sale deed on palm-leaves.
11	633			1663	[1741]	1108	Horoscope.
12	641	1156			[1748]	1107	B.O.R.S. Cat. No. 1751.
13	653		1817	1682	[1760]	1107	Mithilā Manuscripts Cat., Vol. II, p. 67, No. 63.
14	727		1894	1759	[1837]	1110	B.O.R.S. Cat., No. 1074.
15	735			1765	[1843]	1108	} Manuscripts noticed by Pandit Vishnu Lal.
16	742		1905	1771	[1849]	1107	
17	743	1258	1907	1773	[1851]	1108	
18	785		1950		[1892]	1107	

It is evident from No. 1 to No. 5 that up to 1624 A.D., the dating is on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A.D., just as Abul-Fazl found the reckoning of the era in Bengal at the time he wrote *Akṣarnāmā*. According to the Mithilā chronicles the Oinwār dynasty came to an end in Mithilā in 1508 A.D., which is borne out by Muhammadan history. From 1508 A.D., and more so from 1530 A.D., when Sher Shah took direct possession of Tirhut, Musalmān reckoning of the lunar years (Hijra) was introduced there. In the time of Akbar, beginning with 1556 A.D., the Fasli era—a lunar reckoning—was promulgated, which became the national system in Mithilā and is still so under the name *San*. In that epoch Lakshmanasena years receive a lunar (instead of the earlier luni-solar) calculation in the following way: a fixed figure is deducted from the current *San* year to obtain *La. Sam.*, as well as fixed figures are deducted to obtain Śaka and Vikrama years. As the basic figure was the *San* year, not only the *La. Sam.* years but also the years in the other two Hindu eras (Śaka and Vikrama) become inaccurate and practically lunar reckonings. That *La. Sam.* years were so treated becomes clear from the varying, gradually increasing difference in the *La. Sam.* years in the above statement (from No. 6 to No. 18). I have discovered a positive proof of this conversion in a text noticed by Pandit Vishṇu Lal Jha from a manuscript in the possession of Pandit Gaṅgā Nāth Miśra, village Pāhiṭol, P.O. Manigāchi, district Darbhanga, which runs as follows:

० ५ ६

सन तर शून्य-बाण-षट् देव । सीजा दय-सम्बत् बुझिलेव ॥

५ ३ १

बाण-नैनहर-इन्दु समेता । सम्बत् कमी दिये हो जयता ॥

सो शाके जानहु दृढमान । गुरुज्ञानीजन भाषा भान ॥

५ १ ५

जो सन जहां रहे सो देखहु । शर-शशि-बाण हीन कयलेखहु ॥

बाँकी रहे लसं परमान । गुरु ज्ञानीजन भाषा भान ॥

that is, "place below *San* 650: the addition gives the *Samvat*.

The Initial Date of the Gaṅga Era :

An Examination

By Purāṭatva-Kovida G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.A.O.S.

Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, Purāṭatvavichakṣhaṇa, examining, in the *Indian Antiquary*, December, 1932, the initial date of the Gaṅga era surmised by Mr. R. Subbarao, expressed his views. His object appears to be simply to make the date arrived at by Mr. Subbarao, more precise; for this purpose he took three unassailable data.

1. The Naḍagām plates of the Gaṅga Mahārājādhirāja Vajrahastadeva III, Lord of Trikaṇḍa, giving the genealogy and chronology of his predecessors.

2. The Siṃhapura copper plate grant of the Kadamba king Dharmakhēdi dated the Gaṅga-Kadamba era 520, in the reign of Devendravarman (Kāmārṇava), son of Anantavarman (Aniyanakabhima, Vajrahasta II).

3. The Chicacole grant of the Gaṅga Mahārāja Indravarman of Kāṇḍa issued in the Gaṅgeya era 128, in connection with a gift made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of "Mārgaśīrṣa."

Let us examine first if these data are really unassailable. The Siṃhapura copper plate grant mentions a Devendravarman, the son of Anantavarman, as the overlord of Kāṇḍa. This Devendravarman is identified with Kāmārṇava, and his father Anantavarman with Aniyanakabhima Vajrahasta II. The reasons for doing so are not stated. The Chicacole plates dated 526 of the Gaṅga era¹ mention Madhukāmārṇadeva, son of Anantavarman, as the overlord of Kāṇḍa at the time when the gift was made. The Siṃhapura plates are dated G.E. 520 and the Chicacole plates, G.E. 526. Anantavarman is the name of the father of the overlord at the time of the Siṃhapura as well as of the Chicacole plates. Devendravarman of the former document must be identical with Madhukāmārṇadeva of the later. This king whose full name is Devendravarman Madhu-

¹ JBORS., vol. XVIII, 1932 parts III-IV.

kāmārṇadeva must be ruling from G.E. 520-526. From this the regnal period of this king of Kālīṅga, appears, by common reckoning,² to be not less than 7 years. When such is the case, how can this king be identified with Kāmārṇava who is said to have ruled for only half a year? Since the identification does not stand to reason, his starting point does not hold. It can be argued that Devendravarma of the Siṃhapura plates and Madhukāmārṇadeva may be brothers, being the sons of the same father, Anantavarma. Even taking it for granted, G.E. 520 becomes the year of Kāmārṇava and G.E. 526 falls in period of the reign of Madhukāmārṇava, the third son of Vajrahasta II. Mr. Subbarao has taken this Madhukāmārṇava to be identical with the Madhukāmārṇavadeva of the Chicacole plates. So far the theories of both stand.³

2. It is contended by scholars that the Samasta or Aṅka system has been introduced in Kālīṅga from the time of Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga but did not exist prior to him. In the Mandasa plates the regnal year, the date of the grant is given in Samasta reckoning, and the year of the grant is Śaka 913. It was followed during the time of Trikalīṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva; in note 2 in my article on the Chicacole plates I have discussed to show that the Aṅka or Samasta system was peculiar to the family of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kālīṅga from times unknown. Here I may point out another example to prove the existence of this reckoning of regnal period of a king in the system. Stone inscription no. 3 (App. B. *Madras Ep.R.*, 1923-30) on a slab lying in front of the Dhavaleśvara temple in the village of Urajam, Ganjam District, is dated Śaka 973, 15th year, Tulasu. Pañchami, Saturday. The inscription is of the time of Anantavarmadeva, the title born by Vajrahasta III, the grandfather of Choḍagaṅga. His copper plates say that he was crowned in Ś.S. 960. So Ś.S. 973 is the 13th year but not 15th year as stated in the inscription if calculated ordinarily, but it is 15th year according to the Aṅka system.

3 In G.E. 520, when Devendravarma was the overlord of Kālīṅga, the mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Pañchaviśaya was Rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi. This Dharmakheḍi is identified with the Rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the Mandasa plates. The overlord of Kālīṅga at this time was an Anantavarma who was on the throne in Ś.S. 913. So the Madhukāmārṇava of the genealogies must have had the appellation of Anantavarma and he must be ruling in Ś.S. 913. But by calculation it is seen that Madhukāmārṇava ruled from Ś.S. 942-960, chronologically the identification of the two Dharmakheḍis fails. If the Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates, from the date of the grant, appears, by ordinary calculation, to be identical with

Now to work on this theory. In expressing in terms of A.D. the period of reign of each king, both the investigators did a mistake. The genealogy given in the Naḍagām plates states that Madhukāmārṇava reigned for 19 years. Counting backwards from Ś.S. 960, the year of coronation of Trikaṅgādhīpati Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva III, is Ś.S. 942 (A.D. 1020) is the 1st year of the reign but not Ś.S. 941 (A.D. 1019) as has been calculated by them both. Gunadama reigns Ś.S. 940-942 and Kahārṇava who ruled for only $\frac{1}{2}$ year, reigns in the first half of Ś.S. 940. If this be G.E. 520, then the initial

Vajrahasta II. then the Dharmakheḍi of the document will be a contemporary of Vajrahasta II and consequently will be an ancestor of the Dharmakheḍi of the Siṃhapura plates which is not vouchsafed by palaeography.

Now with regard to the title of Anantavarma and Devendravarma the following observations may be made. The title of Anantavarma for a king of Kāṅga is first known to us from the Viṣagapatam plates of Devendravarma dated G.E. 254. Therein the king, Devendravarma is said to be the son of Anantavarma. (I.A., vol. XVIII. No. 177). Here Anantavarma and Devendravarma are father and son. Similarly the Devendravarma of the Siṃhapura plates is the son of Anantavarma. The Alamāṇḍa plates of Anantavarma (E.I., vol. III. No. 3) say that Anantavarma is the son of Rājendravarma and ruled Kāṅga in G.E. 304. The Tekkali plates of Devendravarma (E.I., vol. XVIII. No. 32) say that Devendravarma was the son of Rājendravarma and ruled in 310 G.E. From these it appears that Anantavarma of G.E. 304 and Devendravarma of G.E. 310 are brothers. Anantavarma was immediately succeeded by Devendravarma. Devendravarma was immediately succeeded by Rājendravarma, the son of his elder brother Anantavarma. This is illustrated by the C.P. recorded as no. 13 App. A. Ep. Report, 1917-18 and pp. 137-138. This grant being dated in G.E. 342 shows that he must have come to the throne immediately after Devendravarma of G.E. 310. He being the son of Anantavarma and coming after Devendravarma (shown by the dates) bore the title of Rājendravarma. Whether there was any king between the Devendravarma of G.E. 310 and the Rājendravarma of G.E. 342, cannot be said now, as no document of the intervening period has yet been discovered. From the time of Vajrahasta III (Naḍagam plates) the titles appear to have been borne by father and son alternately:—Vajrahasta III was Anantavarma. He was succeeded by his only son Rājārāja who was a Devendravarma (Vide C.P. No. 4. App. A. Madra Ep. Report, 1918-19). Devendravarma Rājārāja was immediately succeeded by his only son Chodagaṅga who bore the title of Anantavarma. From this it may be observed that Anantavarma and Devendravarma were not titles always borne alternately.

year will be Ś.S. 420. Then the lunar eclipse of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa must be in $(420 + 127) =$ Ś.S. 547. In this year, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa there happened a lunar eclipse. Then the year Ś.S. 420 satisfies this data.

This date must also satisfy the solar eclipses of 51,154,221 (Ashāḍha) 304, 351, 397. The Śaka years corresponding to these years of the Gaṅga era are Ś.S. 471, 574, 641, 724, 771, 817. Out of these there were no solar eclipses in the years 574 and 771; and that of 641 was not of the month of Ashāḍha. Mr. Ghosh satisfies himself by saying that they might have happened in the years prior to them. If we allow a margin of one year, why should we not allow a margin of two or more years? The eclipses recorded in the grants have been accepted by all scholars to have happened in that year only; When three out of the six eclipses do not satisfy, I do not know what to say of the initial year? It cannot be taken to be the actual year when the era was begun.

Thus Mr. Ghose's date failed and even the date corrected according to his own data failed to satisfy all the data fully. Now let us examine the data assumed by Mr. Subbarao, who published a long discussion on the Gaṅgeya era in *JAHS.*, Vol. V, part 4, pp. 267-276. He lightly set aside the suggestions to work out the initial year of the era by Fleet and other scholars that make Kalinga history a special study and said, 'the discovery of five new inscriptions has thrown new light on this difficult problem (the initial date of the era). Then he proceeds to mention one inscription after another and interprets it so as to be useful for his own purpose. We shall take these inscriptions in his own order and examine how his assumptions hold good.

The first copper plate he refers to is the Jirjīngi grant of Indravarma of 39. He presumes the year to belong to the Gaṅga era and places the king prior to Hastivarma of the Utlam plates dated G.E. 80. When he edited this plate in Vol. III of *JAHS.*, he not only read the year as 309 but even in the introduction he clearly stated, 'The latter half of 25th line contains the date in numerical, viz. the 309th year of the augmenting reign and the 21st day in the month of

Vaiśākha.' This author now, to serve his purpose, changes 309 to 39, but does not say even a word why he did so⁴. In my article on 'Tri-kaliṅga' (*JBORS.*, September-December, 1929) it is pointed out with arguments that the year 39 is regnal and does not belong to the Gaṅga era. Though the king belongs to the Gaṅga family, he does not worship the Gokaṇṇa Swami established on the summit of Mahendra as the Kaliṅga Gaṅga kings do. The titles of Paramamāheśvara, and Paramabhaṭṭāraka borne by Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva III, the first Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati of the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, do not appear in the eulogy of this king. The phraseology is more poetic and padantic than that used in those of the first one and half centuries of the Gaṅga era. The phrase expressing the date is only Pravardhamana Sam⁵ which only expresses regnal. The charters issued by the Kaliṅga king are all invariably dated with the expression '*Pravardhamana Vijayanājya Samvatsarah*' or '*Gāṅgeya vaṃsa Samvachhara*.'

Yet Mr. Subbarao presuming this to be of Gāṅgeya era assigned it to the time prior to that of the Uralam plates of Hastivarma. I herewith append a table showing the form of some important characters used in the grants of Kaliṅga Gaṅga kings or the first two centuries of the Gaṅga era, and also of the letters in the Jirjīngi plates. Let scholars see for themselves if the form of the letters of the Jirjīngi plates vouchsafe such assignment. Palæography, I admit, cannot give any help to fix the time of any document precisely, but it may help us to assign it to a period. Let scholars observe and see if Mr. Subbarao is in any way justified to put the Jirjīngi plates before G.E. 80.

4 After the paper had been made ready for the press. The correction of the date by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar M.A. appeared in part 4 vol. VII of *JAHS*.

5 *Pravardhamana Sam* means prosperous years: consequently it refers to the reign of the king; whereas *Pravardhamana Vijayanājya Sam* means the year of the prosperous and victorious reign (of the family). The latter is also expressed as Gāṅgeya Vamśa Samvatsarās.

The second is the copper plate of the time of Madhukāmārṇava of G.E. 526 registered as C.P. No. 3 in annual Report on *S.I. Ep.* for 1918-19. Of this I have already said above. The Madhukāmārṇadeva of the plates and the Devendravarma of the Siṃhapura plates must be either identical or brothers, being the sons of the same father, Anantavarma. In my article on 'The Chicacole plates of Anantavarma's son Madhukāmārṇadeva, dated 526 Gaṅga era' (*JBORS.*, Vol. XVIII. parts III-IV) I pointed out that Mahārājādhirāja Devendravarma Madhukāmārṇadeva was the king of Kalinga at the time of these two sets of plates. But for the purposes of this discussion, it may be possible to consider Devendravarma and Madhukāmārṇadeva to be two brothers coming to the throne one after another.

The Madhukāmārṇadeva is identified by Mr. Subbarao, with the Madhukāmārṇava of the genealogy and he equates G.E. 526 with the first year of the reign of the king. Madhukāmārṇava appears to have reigned for 19 years from Ś.S. 942 to Ś.S. 960. If G.E. 526 be the Ś.S. 942, the G.E. 520 must be Ś.S. 936. This year falls within the period of reign of Aniyankabhīma Vajrahasta II who ruled from Ś.S. 905-939. Persons shown as father and son in the genealogy become brothers by this assumption.

Again Mr. Subbarao reads the Siṃhapura plates with the Mandasa plates of the time of the Kalinga king Anantavarma-deva, dated Ś.S. 913, and says that the Dharmakhēḍi of the Siṃhapura plates is the same as the Dharmakhēḍi of the Mandasa plates. The former grant intimates that its donor Dharmakhēḍi of the Kadamba family is a vassal of the Gaṅga sovereign Devendravarma, while from the latter we learn that its donor, Dharmakhēḍi is a vassal of the Gaṅga sovereign Anantavarma. This being the case, Dharmakhēḍis of the two documents are identified with each other and that ruler is put in the time of Kāmārṇava, who is said to have reigned for only ½ year. This does not satisfy chronology; for the Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates is said to have been reigning in Ś.S. 913 and Dharmakhēḍi granted the gift recorded there in the 15th regnal year, the

regnal year is of Dharmakhēḍi, but not of his suzerain. So Dharmakhēḍi appears to have become the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of the Panchaviśaya in Ś.S. 901. Ś.S. 913 which is one of the years of the reign of Anantavarma is equated with G.E. 520, one of the years in the reign of Devendravarma, which name seems to have been borne by the immediate successor of an Anantavarma. A king cannot be an Anantavarma for one grant and Devendravarma for another document issued in his own time !

Anīyankabhīma Vajrahasta II (Ś.S. 905-939)⁶ is identified with the Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates. By wrong calculation Mr. Subbarao has put Vajrahasta II from Ś.S. 901 to Ś.S. 936. This is corrected by Mr. Ghosh. In Ś.S. 901, Dharmakhēḍi of the Mandasa plates became the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and in Ś.S. 905 Vajrahasta II ascended the throne. The predecessor of Vajrahasta II, on the throne must have been the overlord of Kalinga when Dharmakhēḍi became the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. That overlord of Kalinga might have been a Devendravarma and in that time i.e. Ś.S. 901-905 the Siṃhapura grant might have been issued. Kāmārṇava IV was the father and the predecessor on the throne, of Vajrahasta II. It may be taken for granted that Kāmārṇava IV is Devendravarma since Vajrahasta II is taken to be Anantavarma, as "the titles of Anantavarma and Devendravarma were apparently used for all the kings from Vajrahasta I to the Choḍa Gaṅga, alternately" one of the years from Ś.S. 901 to Ś.S. 904 must be G.E. 520. Then G.E. 526 will be one between Ś.S. 907 and 910 which period falls within the reign of Vajrahasta II. But we are informed by the Chicacole plates that Madhukāmārṇadeva was the overlord in G.E. 526 and learn nowhere that Vajrahasta I bore a second name of Madhukāmārṇadeva. So discrepancies arise by identifying the Dharmakhēḍi of Ś.S. 913 with the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of the same name of G.E. 520. There are many points in the documents themselves that the Dharmakhēḍi of the one is quite different and must have been removed

6 For purposes of this paper, the years are calculated by ordinary reckoning.

by at least one generation, from the Dharmakhēḍi of the year 520 of the Gaṅga era. In the Siṃhapura grant the overlord has deva not added to his appellation, while in the Mandasa plates the overlord is called Anantavarma *Deva*. The eulogy of the Kadamba kings given in the Mandasa plates is not found in the Siṃhapura grant. The script of the Siṃhapura grant differs apparently from that of the Mandasa plates. Several forms of the same letter are found used in the latter, while in the former there is only one form of the letter used uniformly. In the face of so many discrepancies it is impossible to accept the theories advanced by Mr. Subbarao.

The third inscription he relied upon is the Polumburu grant of Mādhavavarma III of the Viṣṇukunḍi family. On the authority of this set of plates he tries to identify the Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman of the Viṣṇukunḍi family with the king of the same name said to have been defeated by Adhirāja Indra of the Godāvarī plates of Rāja Prithvimula. With the help of the Jirjīngi plates he tries to identify the Indravarma of the the sme name said to have been defeated by Adhirāja Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman. Regarding this identification and the value of the Polumburu plates I shall write later on.

Table showing the form of some letters used in the documents issued by the Ganga Kings of Kalinga of the first two centuries of the Ganga Era

Name and date of the document and reference	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	ट	ठ	ड	ढ	न	र	ल	श	ष	स	ध
Utlam Plates of Hastivarma, G. E. 30 (Andhra Patrika annual of 1920)	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥
Tekkali Plates of Danārnava's son Indravarma, G. E. 154 (E. I. Vol. XVIII, No. 31)	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥
Chicacole Plates of Devendravarmān, son of Gunārnava, G. E. 183 (E. I. Vol III No. 21)	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥
Jirjingi Copper Plates of Indravarma, Pravardhamāna Sam. 39 (J. A. H. R. S. Vol III, P. 51)	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥
Siddhantām Plates of Devendravarmān, Son of Gunārnava, G. E. 195 (E. I. Vol XIII No. 19)	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥

The letters of the Utlam plates are cut from the facsimile published in the Andhra Patrika annual of 1920

The letters of the other plates are traced on the facsimiles and pasted here.

The change of the form of each letter from time to time may be observed. The change is more apparent from G. E. 183 to G. E. 195.

It may be clearly seen that the script of the Jirjingi plates shows the transition from G. E. 183 to G. E. 195. observe 𑌕, 𑌖, 𑌗, 𑌘, 𑌙, 𑌚, 𑌛, 𑌜, 𑌝, 𑌞, 𑌟, 𑌠, 𑌡, 𑌢, 𑌣, 𑌤, 𑌥

The Date of the Patna Museum Plates of Raṇabhañjadeva

By Jogendra Chandra Ghosh

The above charter records the grant of a village to the god *Vijaésara* (*Vijeyeśvara* or *Vidyēśvara*) by *Mahādevī Vijyā* (*Vidyā*), the queen of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañjadeva of Ubhaya-khiñjalimaṇḍala and daughter of *Rāṇaka-śrī-Nīyārnama* (*El.*, vol. XX, pp. 100ff). This *Rāṇaka* Nīyārnama seems to be identical with the Kadamba *Rāṇaka* Nīyārṇava, the father of the *Rāṇaka* Bhīmakhedi and the grand father of the *Rāṇaka* Dharmakhedi of Jayantyāpura, the donor of the Sānta-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga-kadamba Samvat 520 (*JAHRS.*, vol. III, pp. 178 ff). This *Rāṇaka* Dharmakhedi again seems to be the same as the Kadamba *Rāṇaka* Dharmakhedi, the son of *Rāṇaka* Bhīmakhedi of Jayantyāpura, the donor of the Mandasa plates, dated Śaka 976 (*South Ind. Ep. R.* for 1917-18, pp. 138-39). If our surmise is correct this prince must have ruled at least from (520+495-496) to 976+78)=1015—1054 A.D. (*IA.*, vol. LXI, pp. 237-38). This relationship of the *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja with the Kadamba family gives us a clue to find out approximately his time. As *Mahādevī Vijyā* was the daughter of the *Rāṇaka* Nīyārnama or Nīyārṇava and the *Rāṇaka* Dharmakhedi, his grandson, the queen Vijyā as also her husband was earlier by a generation. The average life of a generation is generally held to be 25 years. So *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja must have flourished in the neighbourhood of 990-1029 A.D.

We shall now try to see if the date of the charter supports us in our supposition. The date is given in a chronogram. As the record is written in incorrect 'Sanskrit' some difficulty has been experienced in its interpretation. R. D. Banerji, the editor of the plates, remarks :—

"The date of the inscription is, apparently irregular and is given in a half chronogram as *Indu-vāk-viśanti varisē*

(=*Indu-vāk-viṃśati-varshā*). Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, *vāk* being taken to the sense of 1."

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the Government Epigraphist, adds the following foot-note to the above :—

"But *vāk*, (*vāch*) does not mean 'one,' though it might stand for four as it is supposed to have four stages, namely, *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikhari*—The reading, however, is not certain."

The chronogram beigns with the word *Samvatsara* and ends with *varisē*. It, therefore, seems that two dates were meant to be written, one in some era and the other in regnal years. Firstly, *vāk* is the most unusual word for a chronogram. Secondly, it is not the usual practice to add these numbers as has been done both by Banerji and Sastri. We think *vāk* is a scriptic mistake for *vāṇa* = 5, which is the nearest chronogram approaching in sound to *vāk*. We again suggest to read *Indu* as *Indra* = 14. So *Indra-vāṇa* is equivalent to 514, denoting some era and *viṃśati* indicates the regnal year. If 514 is in some era, what era could it be? We think that the *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhaṇja, like the Kadambas, his relations, was a feudatory of the Gaṅgas, and this 514 represents the Gaṅgeya era=1009–1010 A.D. Now if *viṃśati* is the regnal year, whose regnal year is it? The feudatories generally use their over-lord's regnal year, but in the present case it is not so. For we find that 1009-1010 A.D. falls in the reign of the Gaṅga king (Anantavarma—) Vajrahasta Anīyaṅkabhīma II, whose first year of reign was 980-981. His twentieth year of reign, therefore, was 999-1000 A.D. So 1009-1010 A.D. must be taken to be the 20th regnal year of the *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhaṇja. This use of his own regnal year, and the non-mention of the name of the over-lord, show that Raṇabhaṇja's acknowledgment of allegiance to the Gaṅga king was but nominal.

As 20th regnal year of Raṇabhaṇja fell in 1009-10 A.D., so he began his reign in 1009-10 A.D. He must have ruled at least 26 years (*El.*, vol. XII, p. 326). Therefore his reign period

was 990 to 1015 A.D. This is exactly what we expected. This charter is very important in as much as it gives us a good starting point for drawing up a chronology of the Bhaṇja kings of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala. It further shows that the Eastern Gaṅga kings extended their sphere of influence, however slight, as far as Orissa and as early as the tenth century A.D.

Some scholars have held that this *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhaṇja is identical with the *Mahārāja* Raṇabhaṇja of the 54th year (*EI.*, vol. XII, pp. 323ff.). There are of course some similarities between the two, which mark them off as belonging to the same dynasty. But there are also dissimilarities enough to prove that they were different persons. The chief obstacle in taking them to be one person, is the difference in their fathers' names. We hope to discuss this in detail in a subsequent paper.

Considering the time and similarity in the principal component of names, we throw out a suggestion that this *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhaṇja may be identical with Raṇasūra of Takkanalāḍam i.e. Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha (*EI.*, vol. IX, p. 232). One of the Khiṇjali-maṇḍalas i.e. the north-Khiṇjali was perhaps Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha. There are places named Khijri or Khejuri (Kedgerie of the early Europeans) and Dhitpur,* answering respectively to Khiṇjali and Dhṛitipura, in the Midnapur district of Bengal. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar wants to identify Raṇasūra with Raṇabhaṇja of Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa (*EI.*, vol. XX, p. 203). But in our opinion Rāṇaka Raṇabhaṇja of Khiṇjali suits better for the reasons stated.

* There are two villages named Dhitpur, one in *Thānā* Midnapur, and the other in Gopivallabhpur. Another is Dhitgeria in *Thānā* Debra.

The Dates of the Tirlīṅgi and the Jirjīṅgi Grants

By Jogendra Chandra Ghosh

I The Tirlīṅgi Copper-plate Grant.

The above plate has been published by Mr. P. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, pp. 53-59. Only one plate out of a group has been discovered. It contains only 7 lines, of which lines 4-7 are devoted to the date in words and the name of the scribe-engraver. The name of this scribe-engraver is Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra. Mr. Rājaguru says that this man also "engraved the copper-plate grants of Hastivarma and Indravarma of Eastern Gāṅga line dated 'pravarddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsara' 80, and 86 and 87, respectively." (p. 56).

Although the name of the donor is not there we can from the above data approximately guess his name, as also the date. Mr. Rājaguru has read the date to be *ashṭāvīmśati* i.e. 28. This may not be impossible, but seems to be improbable. We think that the date should be near about eighty. Let us see if Mr. Rājaguru's reading of it is justified by the *facsimile* given. *Ashṭā°* is clear enough, but the two syllables after it is indistinct. After this, there is a gap. Most probably it contained the date symbols as in other plates engraved by this Vinayachandra, but they are all gone. As there are only two syllables after *ashṭā*, we cannot read them as *vīmśati*, which consists of three syllables. Again we find on the top of the first of the two indistinct syllables the sign of *ī*. So this cannot be read as *vi*. Under the circumstances the only possible reading, according to us, is *ashṭāśīti*. We have found out the initial date of the Gāṅgeya era to be 495-496 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. LXI, p. 237). So the date of this grant is $(495-496+87=)$ 582-583 A.D. If our reading of the date is correct the donor must be identical with the Indravarman Rājasimha of the

Achyutapuram and the Parlākimeḍi plates of the years 87 and 91 respectively (*EI.*, III, 128ff. and *IA.*, XVI, p 134).

2 The Jirjīngi plates of Indravarma.

These plates have been published by Mr. R. Subba Rao in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, pp. 49-53. The date is given in the latter half of the 25th line by two symbols. Mr. Subba Rao interprets them to be 309. About the script and the language used in the plates, he writes:—"The alphabet is Telugu of the 9th or 10th century A.D. and resembles closely that of the Chalukyan grants edited by me in vol. 2, pts. 3 and 4" (p. 49). It appears therefore, that he found his reading of the date corroborated by palæography also.

Let us see if Mr. Rao's reading of the date is correct. The first symbol according to Bühler's Chart indicates 3 as well as 30. We, however, find that it represents 3 when it is in units place (*EI.*, vol. III, p. 133), and 30 when it is placed in tens place. So the real value of the symbol is 3, its value being increased or decreased according to place, like the present system of notation. As there are only two symbols, the first is to be considered in tens place. So its value is 30, and it can not be 300 as has been read by Mr. Rao. We read the date to be 39, which is equivalent to 534-535 A.D. If our interpretation of the date is correct, the script cannot be of the 9th or 10th century A.D. as has been arrived at by Mr. Rao.

It, however, appears that Mr. Rao has since changed his opinion, for he writes elsewhere:—"Possibly the Gaṅga king Indravarma is the donor of the Jirjīngi plates of the 39th year (G.E.) and who alone has the title of "Trikaliṅgādhipati" among all the Early Gaṅga kings, might be the founder." (*JAHRS.*, vol. V, p. 268). We, on the other hand, think this Indravarma to be the grandfather of the Indravarma of the Tirlingi plate.

Unfortunately Mr. Rao has not enlightened us as to what made him change his opinion and how he reconciled his palæography, and made up the gap of nearly three centuries.

After this it is no wonder that he will call the science of Palaeography 'an uncertain hand-maid of history.' (*JAHRS.*, vol. V. p. 269).

In conclusion, it is necessary to say something in explanation of the theory hazarded by us above, about the interpretation of the date symbols in the Gaṅga plates. The date in the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Devendravarman has been given both in words and in symbols, as 'śataṃ trirāśite 183 śrāvaṇe māsi dive viṃśati 20 (*El.*, vol. III, p. 133). Of the three symbols given, the last one is exactly the same as in the Jirjīngi plates noticed above. Kielhorn could not explain it according to the Numerical Symbols of Bühler. So he has found fault with the symboling of these plates. He writes:— "The writer, in my opinion, has wrongly employed numerical symbols for '8' and '30,' instead of those for '80' and '3.' The following '20' he has denoted by the symbol for '2' and the sign for nought." According to our view there will be no difficulty in explaining the symbols. We have said that these symbols have got place values like the present day notations. This is well demonstrated by the placing of the sign for nought after '2', to express 20. It is strange that he has not noticed that this sign for nought has also been used in the date symbols of the Urlām plates of the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Hastivarman-Rājasimha-Raṇabhita of the year 80 (*El.*, vol. XVII, p. 333). Here the date has been expressed by two symbols. The first or the one in tens place is the same as the first of the two symbols used in expressing the date in the Achyutapuram plates of the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarman-Rājasimha. There the date is also given in word, 'saptāśītiḥ,' so there is no doubt that the date is 87. It has been transcribed as '80 7' by Hultzsck (*El.*, vol. III, pp. 128ff). If the first symbol really meant 80, there was no necessity for the sign of nought after first symbol in the Urlām plates. Hultzsck has ignored it altogether. Probably it escaped his notice.

We shall now cite an instance in which this sign of nought has been used in the tens place. This is supplied by the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*IA.*, vol. XIII, pp. 128ff). Here three symbols have

been used, of which the middle one is 'O' and has been interpreted as representing 20. This has been done apparently on the analogy of the date symbols in the Mañkuwar Buddhist image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I of Samvat 129 (*CI.*, vol. III, pp. 49ff). The date is not given in words, so there is no definite authority for this interpretation. According to our theory the date should be 109. Samvat here has been taken to the Gupta era. Our reading of the date will not, in any way, go against our knowledge of the reign period of Kumāra-gupta I. The earliest known date of this king is G. 96 (*CII.*, vol. III, pp. 43ff), and the latest is G. 128 (*EI.*, vol. XVII, p. 193). We read the date of the Chicacole plates just mentioned above, to be 101, as the first and the third symbols are almost similar and because it cannot be read as 108. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha*, but there was no such eclipse in Gāṅgeya era 108=603-604 A.D. Whereas we find that such an eclipse took place in Gāṅgeya era 101=596-597 A.D. It must, however, be noted here that there was such an eclipse also in the Gāṅgeya era 128=623-624 A.D. but this reading of the date cannot be accepted for reason stated above. We think that this king Indravarman of the Chicacole plates of the year 101 is also identical with the Indravarman-Rājasimha of the Achyutapuram and the Parlākimedi plates of the years 87 and 91 respectively.

It may be mentioned here that Hultzschi also admitted the existence of the decimal notation in reading the date symbols of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava of the year 154 (*EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 309ff). He transcribed this as 100 54 and not as 100 50 4. We can understand that both the Numerical and Decimal Symbols were in vogue, and that some used the one and some the other. But it is quite unintelligible to us why a mongrel system should be used in expressing the same date, i.e. Numerical Symbols for the digits in hundreds place and Decimal Symbols for those in tens and units places. There was no difficulty in expressing all of them in decimal notation, as is done now. We suspect that all of them are in decimal notation. It is evident from

the Jirjingi plates mentioned above that this Decimal System was current in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There is evidence, however, that it was in vogue earlier still. Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Dutt has shown by a reference to the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, (Ch. 101, ll. 102-3) that it was well-known even at the time. (Bengali *Sāhitya-Patrikā*, 1337 B.S., p. 71). The *Vāyu-purāṇa* is not perhaps later than the fourth century A.D.

It is now high time that Bühler's Chart should be revised in the light of the subsequent discoveries. We hope some of our scholars will undertake this.

The Maukharis of Kanauj.*

By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi M.A., PH.D. (LONDON).
Professor, Benares Hindu University, Benares

Decline of the Guptas and its effects

The latter half of the fifth century A.D. was a period of great ferment in Northern India, as it saw the beginning of that process which ultimately undermined the stability of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The empire became involved in a disastrous war with the Puṣyamitras or Puṣpamitras who "had developed great power and wealth";¹ and although the danger of immediate subversion was averted by the energy and military strategy of Skandagupta, the shock of the struggle, during the course of which he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend "a whole night on the bare ground," was none the less serious. It was closely followed by a greater menace to the safety of the empire; this was the "irruption of the savage Hūṇas," who at this time began to pour down the North-Western passes like an irresistible torrent. At first Skandagupta, "by whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he . . . joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas,"² succeeded in stemming the tide of their advance into the interior; but the repeated attacks of these nomadic hordes eventually broke the stubborn resistance, and the Gupta dynasty began to totter to its fall.³ History undoubtedly records the continuance of the rule of the Guptas till long

* See my '*History of Kanauj*' to be published shortly.

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 52f : Bhitari stone pillar inscription. Fleet locates the Puṣyamitras "somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmada" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1889, p. 228), but Smith places them in the North (*Early Hist. of India*, 4th ed. p. 326 note 2). Mr. H. R. Divekar, on the other hand, suggests a different reading (*Ann. of the Bhand. Inst.*, 1919-20, p. 99f).

2 Bhitari pillar inscription. 3 *Early Hist. of India*, 4th ed., p. 328.

afterwards,⁴ but the Hūṇa onrush appears to have brought to the surface the latent disruptive forces, which readily operate when the central power is shaken.

The earliest defections from the empire were evidently Surāṣṭra and Western Malwa. There is a curious break in the silver currency after Skandagupta, and we have no inscriptions to prove that his successors had any direct connection with these regions.⁵ Besides, it is almost certain that towards the last quarter of the fifth century the Maitrakas rose to power in Valabhī under the leadership of Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka. This is obvious from the fact that the first known record of this family belongs to Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the third son of Bhaṭṭāraka, and bears the Gupta-Valabhī date 206=525 A.D. Between them there intervened the other two sons of Bhaṭṭāraka—Senāpati Dharasena I and the Mahārāja Dronasimha. If we, therefore, roughly assign 40 to 45 years for the first three reigns, the kingdom must have been founded in *circa* 480-85 A.D. We know from the inscriptions that the first few Maitraka rulers were not absolutely independent, but it is not clear whose suzerainty they acknowledged. Possibly they owed allegiance to the Hūṇas, who gradually overwhelmed the western and central parts of India. Or perhaps, for sometime they nominally kept alive the tradition of Gupta paramountcy.

Presumably about the same time the Maukharis also, who, as we shall see below, originally belonged to Magadha, taking advantage of the weakness of the central government, established themselves at Kanauj, and initiated a line which was destined to play a very important rôle in the politics of Northern India.

We learn from the Madhuban plate⁶ that in Thānesvar Naravardhana became the founder of a dynasty, immortalised by the deeds of Harṣa. The latter is definitely known to have

4 Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 391†.

5 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 390; see also Allan's *Gupta Coins*. [This is not correct. The Maitrakas were established by the imperial power—'the paramount master in person': Fleet, *G.I.*, p. 268—K.P.J.].

6 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 72. According to Bāṇa the founder of the house was the shadowy Puṣyabhūti or Puṣpabhūti.

ascended the throne in A.D. 606, and as he represented the fifth generation in descent, we may well feel certain that Naravardhana must have established the kingdom about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.

But the greatest disturbing factors were doubtless the Hūṇas, who by the year 510 A.D. advanced into the heart of India under the leadership of Toramāṇa,⁷ and established their settlements in Central India, where they ruled practising the most horrible cruelties till a new chief arose to deliver the land from an intolerable foreign thralldom. This was the "Janendra" Yaśodharman, who won a powerful position for himself by inflicting a crushing defeat on the tyrannical Hūṇa chief, Mihiragula, "the Attila of India." His Mandasor inscription⁸ further claims that he brought under his sway lands which even the Guptas and the Hūṇas could not subdue, and made himself master of India from the Brahmaputra to the western ocean, and from the Himalayas to the Mahendragiri, i.e. Kalinga (cf. the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. According to Smith, however, it denotes the southernmost peak of the Travancore Ghats; *E. H. I.*, 4th ed. p. 339). Making due allowance for hyperbole in this contemporary epigraph, it appears that Yaśodharman exercised some sort of loose hegemony over the north during the heyday of his power, but his success was short-lived and the Guptas soon emerged from their temporary eclipse. For, the Khoh inscription of Saṃkṣoba, dated in the Gupta year 209=528 A.D. "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings",⁹ and according to Mr. R. G. Basak, another record of Uchchhalkalpa Mahārāja Sarvanātha of the Gupta year 214=533 A.D.,¹⁰

7 This date rests on the evidence of three inscriptions:

(a) Fleet, *C.I.I.*, No. 20; Eran posthumous inscription of Goparāja, dated Gupta year 191.

(b) *Ibid.*, No. 29; Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated Gupta year 165.

(c) *Ibid.*, No. 36; Eran inscription dated in the first year of Toramāṇa. See also *Gupta Coins*, p. lxii, where Mr. Allan rightly remarks that "it was in resisting the invader (Toramāṇa) that Goparāja fell."

8 Fleet, *C.I.I.*, vol. III, No. 33, pp. 145, 148. 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 113-116.

10 *Ibid.*, No. 31; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 125.

show that at that time Gupta authority was recognised, even though nominally, in Central India. Besides, Dr. Raychaudhuri has well pointed out that "in A.D. 543-44, ten years after the Maṇḍasor inscription, which mentions the *Janendra* Yaśodharman as victorious, the son (?) and Viceroy of a Gupta Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Prithivīpati, and not any official of the Central Indian *Janendra*, was governing the Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*—a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya."¹¹

Thus, amid these political convulsions the Later Guptas tried to revive their lost glories, but what they achieved was only the ghost of their former existence, as the process of disintegration had gone too far, and fresh complications had arisen owing to the growth of new powers. The Maukharis, who had grown rich and prosperous by their possession of the fertile Doab, were also at this time bidding for supremacy in the north; and they had now to be reckoned with before the Guptas could reclaim the allegiance of the greater part of Northern India. This contest for overlordship between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas forms the most arresting feature of the major portion of the sixth century A.D. It was a struggle between the waning glories of Magadha and the rising power of Kanauj. It ended in transferring the political centre of gravity to the latter; and the credit for effecting this mighty change is due to the Maukharis, who reaped a rich harvest out of the prevailing confusion, and suddenly leaped from obscurity to great importance.

Sources

Unfortunately, our data for the history of the Maukharis¹² are very meagre, and so we have to depend mainly on guess-

11 *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 403. Compare the Damodarpur Copper-plate inscription of 543-44 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 113f).

12 The records of the dynasty use the term Mukhara and Maukhari in a loose way. The Jaunpur (*C.I.I.*, p. 229) and the Haraha inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 110) call its kings "Mukhara", whereas Bāṇa uses both terms indiscriminately (see *HC.C.T.*, pp. 122, 294; *Kādambarī*, trans. by Ridding p. 1).

work supported by a few coins, epigraphic documents and casual literary references.

(a) The first record of some value is the seal of Sarvavarman found in Asirgadh, which is a hill-fort (formerly belonging to the Scindia) in the Burhanpur tahsil of the Nimad district of Central Provinces.¹³

(b) Next, we have what are known as the Nālandā seals.¹⁴ They are several in number, and were discovered in the ruins of Nālandā in the Patna district of Bihar and Orissa. These records are preserved in a fragmentary state, and the lacunæ are evidently too many to yield us any substantial information. A seal of Sarvavarman, which Dr. Hirānanda Sāstri calls "a replica of the Asirgadh seal," is, however, almost entire.

(c) The third inscription was found in the Juma Masjid of Jaunpur in the United Provinces.¹⁵ It is supposed to detail the victories achieved by Īsavaravarman; but its value is somewhat vitiated by the dubious character of its testimony.¹⁶

(d) The most important epigraph, however, is the one found at Haraha in the Bara Banki district of the United Provinces.¹⁷ Its object is to record the reconstruction of a dilapidated temple of Śiva by Sūryavarman, son of Īśānavarman, the reigning king of the Maukhari dynasty. It not only enumerates the achievements of Īśānavarman, but also contains a date which we shall discuss further at length, as it offers certain difficulties in interpretation.

(e) The history of the Maukhari dynasty is also supplemented by inscriptions of a line known to historians as that of the Later Guptas. One of them was found at Apsad in the Nawada subdivision of the Gaya district.¹⁸ It throws a flood of light on Gupta-Maukhari relations, and without its help we should have been left to grope in the dark about these points.

13 *C.I.I.*, No. 47, pp. 219-221.

14 *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Eastern circle, 1917-18, p. 44; *Ep. Ind.*, XXI (April, 1931), pp. 73-74.

15 *C.I.I.*, No. 51, pp. 228-30.

16 See *Infra*.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 110f. edited by Hirānanda Sāstri; *Ind. Ant.* XLVI, pp. 125-127, commented upon by Mr. N. G. Majumdar.

18 *C.I.I.*, No. 42, p. 200f.

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(f) Another inscription, belonging to the time of Jivita-gupta II, was found in Deo Baranark in the Shahabad district.¹⁹ It is the only epigraphic record in which the name of Avanti-varman occurs.

(g) We may also mention here the hoard of Maukhari coins discovered in Bhitaura in the Fyzabad district of the United Provinces.²⁰ It is considered that they furnish certain dates; and we shall try to determine later on how far we can fix the chronological position of these Maukhari kings by their help.

(h) Lastly, we may take into account the evidence of Bāṇa. The *Harṣacharita* narrates the last stages of the Gupta-Maukhari feud, and tells how eventually the young Maukhari ruler was engulfed in the political "whirlpool" of the times.

Antiquity of the Maukharis

It appears from these records that the Maukharis came into prominence during the sixth century A.D. but there are certain indications which enable us to trace their existence to much earlier times. First, Kaiyaṭa's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* "which may belong to the 12th century A.D., but which tradition places earlier"²¹, gives us only three illustrations: Pauṇikyā, Bhaupikyā, and Maukharyā, under the aphorism (Pāṇini, IV. 1. 79) explaining the formation of the words with the *shyan* suffix.

The *Kāśikāvṛitti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana, "written before I-tsing visited India",²² again cites the term, under the same rule of Pāṇini, as an instance of *Gotrāvayava*, i.e. non-famous *gotras* or names, *ḥulas* or families. From these references it has been conjectured that the term Maukhari was "possibly known to Pāṇini and also Patañjali"²³ who have

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 46, pp. 214-218. Also see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, XVI, pp. 73-75.

²⁰ *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 843-50.

²¹ Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 429.

²² *Ibid.*, The itinerary of I-tsing falls between the years 671 & 695 A.D.

²³ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 112. The term Mukhara actually occurs in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, *Adh.* V, II, *sūtra* 107, Kielhorn's ed., p. 397.

been assigned to about the sixth century B.C. and *circa* 150 B.C. respectively.

Fleet further pointed out the antiquity of the Maukharis by the Pāli legend "*Mokḥalinām*," written in Mauryan Brahmi characters on a clay-seal, which was secured by Cunningham at Gaya.²⁴ This is evidently an equivalent of the Sanskrit word "*Maukḥariṇām*," which is a derivative of Mukhara and signifies "of the Maukharis." The use of the Mauryan characters unmistakably shows that they were well-known in the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C., and Sir Alexander Cunningham even tried to prove some connection between the Maukharis and the Mauryas.²⁵ In his opinion the term Maukhari is only a variant form of Maurya," and that "in fact Mauriya would be a legitimate contraction of Maukharīya." But there does not seem to be any substantial ground for this view except the mere similarity in sound.

Who were the Maukharis?

Both Vāmana and Kaiyaṭa—the famous expositors of the Pāṇini-an system of grammar—take the term Mukharyā as "a patronymic, signifying the descendants of Mukhara, who must have been the *Ādipurūṣa* or the first to bring his family into prominence and thereby caused it to be known after his name"²⁶ It is not possible to determine whether Mukhara was a proper or an attributive name. Mr. Hirānanda Śāstrī, however, definitely assumes that it was a surname, and that the man was "so called for his being a 'leader,' or for his fighting in the forefront of the armies, which he led into action, as it is such characteristics only which would go to make a man the founder of a line."²⁷

It is interesting to note that Bāṇa also considers Mukhara to be the progenitor of Grahavarman's line, as Puṣyabhūti was of the Thānesvar dynasty.²⁸

But the Haraha inscription appears to trace their origin

24 *C.I.I., Introd.*, p. 14.

25 *Arch. Surv. Rep.* XV. p. 166.

26 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. III.

27 *Ibid.*

28 *HC.C.T.*, p. 129.

to another remarkable personage, since it informs us that "the Mukhara princes, who have vanquished their foes and checked the course of evil, are the descendants of the hundred sons, whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata (*Manu*), and who were conspicuous on account of their excellences."²⁹ Ancient Indian literature, doubtless, knows of many individuals with the name Aśvapati,³⁰ but it is difficult to ascertain whom the author of the *Praśasti* had in view. The learned editor of the Haraha inscription further connects this dynasty with the Solar race. He thinks that Vaivasvata, from whom Aśvapati obtained the hundred sons, is the seventh Manu, "supposed to be born of the Sun, and to preside over the present age."³¹

On the other hand, Mr. N. Ray tries to prove in the *Calcutta Review* that the Maukharis belonged to the *Soma-vaṃśa* or Lunar race.³² He draws this conclusion from the following passage in the *Harṣacharita*: . . . Rājyaśrī has at length united the two brilliant lines of Puṣpabhūti and Mukhara, whose worth, like that of the Sun and Moon houses, is sung by all the world, to the gratification of wise men's ears."³³ The learned writer argues that the Puṣpabhūtis were of the Solar race, as they were mostly Sun-worshippers (*paramādityabhakta*), and they had such names as Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana. Granting this—it is contended—Bāṇa's manner of description would necessarily imply that the Maukharis belonged to the *Somavaṃśa*. But the hypothesis is gratuitous, since there are grounds to hold that the Vardhanas were not of the Solar line. Besides the suffix *bhūti*, indicating that Puṣpabhūti, the founder, was a Vaiśya,* we have the ex-

29 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 119, verse 3.

30 See Monier-Williams' *Sans-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 101.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 111. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that Vaivasvata is Yama, and not Manu (*Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 406).

32 February, 1928, vol. 26, No. 2, p. 203. See also C.V. Vaidya's *H.M.H.I.*, vol., I, p. 335.

33 *H.C.T.*, p. 128. Compare the Sanskrit: *Somasūrya Vṃśāvaiva Puṣpa-bhūtimukharavamṣau*.

*[The *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakaḥ* describes them as Vaiśyas, pp. 626; 634—K.P.J.].

plicit testimony of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa was a Vaiśya (*Fei-she caste*). It appears that in the above passage Bāṇa was not actually connecting the two dynasties with the Sun and Moon respectively, but he was merely comparing them with the two well-known Kṣatriya houses, that are famous in history and legend alike. Thus though we cannot be certain as to who was the progenitor of the Maukharis, at least this much seems probable from the evidence of the Haraha inscription, as also from the termination *varman*, that they were Kṣatriyas. But in after times they appear to have gone down in the social scale, for in an interesting letter, quoted by Mr. Aravamuthan, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal observes, "I think that the modern *Mauhari* caste, almost solely located in the Gaya district, are their representatives. They are Baniyas, i.e. Vaiśyas now".³⁴ Was this degradation due to loss of sovereignty and subsequent change of occupation?

Their original status and territories

The Maukhari seal, written in Mauryan Brahmi characters, to which we have referred above, contains the earliest epigraphic notice of the Maukharis. Regarding its importance Mr. Jayaswal says, "The Maukhari seal probably denotes that they were a political (republican) community in origin; they must have been bereft of power in B.C. (3rd century) as there is no room for a secondary, real political power near Gaya and Rājagriha in those days when the Mauryas were ruling. The seal may refer to a social (*Jātisaṅgha*) organisation only at the time. I feel that their seat has always been the district of Gaya."³⁵ Besides this seal there are three other inscriptions which give us a clue to the original habitat and dignity of the Maukharis. They are inscribed in characters of the same type, which Indraji and Bühler think are "a little later than those of the Guptas, and hence probably belonging to the fifth century A.D."³⁶ Kielhorn was also of opinion that

³⁴ *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 80, note 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 428, note 55.

on palæographic grounds they cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century."³⁷ Mr. C. V. Vaidya, on the other hand, suggests for these inscriptions "a date later than that of Harṣa."³⁸ But there does not seem to be any warrant for this assumption. As is well pointed out by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the script used in these inscriptions is far more archaic than that of the Haraha inscription of 554 A.D. clearly indicating that "they are of a considerably earlier date."³⁹ They were discovered in the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills, two of the easternmost parts of the Vindhya, abutting on the Gaya district.⁴⁰ These inscriptions mention a set of three rulers, viz. Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman, and Anantavarman, who belonged to the Maukhari lineage, since one of them describes Anantavarman having "adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings."⁴¹ These Maukharis are given the general title of "*nṛipa*" or ruler;* and in one of the records Śārdūla is specifically called a "*Sāmanta-chūdāmani*," the best among chieftains." Considering, therefore, the date and find-spot of these documents, it does not seem unreasonable to hold that about the close of the fifth century A.D. the Maukharis were still settled in Magadha round the Gaya region, and that they were feudatories to some power—very possibly the Later Guptas—as even at this time they were powerful enough to curb the rise of an independent state in the very heart of their home-territories.⁴² But owing to the Hūṇa invasions and perhaps family feuds the hold of the

37 *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 3.

38 *H.M.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 34.

39 *Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 127.

40 *C.I.I.*, Nos. 48-50, pp. 221-28.

41 *Ibid.*, No. 48, p. 223.

*[See on *nṛipa*, Amara, VIII, 2—K.P.J.].

42 Mr. N. Ray, however, thinks that these three Maukhari chiefs "ruled in the Bihar region as governors of the Kanauj Maukharis. They were perhaps charged with the viceroyalty of the Magadhan region after its loss by Dāmodaragupta" (*Cal. Rev.*, Feb., 1928, p. 210). But in view of the archaic character of the script of their inscriptions this conclusion seems unjustified.

Guptas was gradually being sapped in the outlying provinces; and this must have afforded a splendid opportunity for bold spirits to seek fresh fields and pastures new. Probably Harivarman, the first king in the Kanauj line, was one such daring adventurer, who in the prevailing confusion migrated westwards and succeeded in carving out a kingdom in the fertile Doab with his seat of government at Kanauj.⁴³

Was Kanauj the capital of the Maukharis?

It is unfortunate that the records of the Maukharis do not mention the kingdom over which they ruled; and at such a distance of time this omission, coupled with the scantiness of known details about them, causes us a good deal of doubt and difficulty. Śaṅkar Pandurang Pandit was the first to express his scepticism as regards accepting Kanauj as the Maukhari capital;⁴⁴ and sharing this diffidence Dr. Vincent Smith remarked that the "assumption is a natural and legitimate inference from Bāṇa's narrative, but not a necessary one."⁴⁵ He further adds that the Pandit may be right in the view which he "definitely adopted that up to the time that Rājyaśrī's husband was murdered, Kanauj was the capital of the Mālava kings."⁴⁶ Elsewhere Smith summarises his views on the Magadha as they are called by archaeologists, shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of Rājās, who had names ending in *varman*, and belonged to a clan called Maukhari. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely, but the Maukhari dominion in the middle of the sixth century included Oudh. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance."⁴⁷

43 The fact that the Gaya line of feudatory chiefs ends with Anantavarman, and Harivarman founded his power about the close of the fifth century (see *Infra*), may lend additional support to this theory of westward migration during the decline of the Gupta power.

44 *Gaudavaho*, Introd., p. cxxix, note. (*Born. Skt. Series.*, 1887).

45 *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 771.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 772.

47 *Early Hist. of India*, 4th ed., pp. 330-31.

On the contrary, there are other scholars who definitely affirm that Kanauj was the Maukhari capital. Dr. Hoernle calls Išānavarman the Maukhari chief of Kanauj⁴⁸, and in another place refers to the attack of the Mālava king in 606 A.D., on Kanauj, which he captured after killing the king Grahavarman.⁴⁹ We are again told in the *Imperial Gazetteer*⁵⁰ that "when the Gupta Empire fell to pieces it (Kanauj) became the capital of the Maukharis, one of the petty dynasties, which arose in its place."⁵⁰

Opinion being so divided, let us examine how far our original authorities justify us in concluding that Kanauj was the Maukhari seat of government. In the first place, the testimony of Bāṇa seems to be very valuable in this connection. He makes Saṃvādaka the servant of princess Rājyaśrī, deliver the following sad tidings to Harṣa and Rājyavardhana : "On the very day on which the king's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Malwa cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess has been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja."⁵¹ If Kanauj was the capital of Grahavarman's adversary, as Ś. P. Pandit and Smith would have us believe, does it not appear incomprehensible why Bāṇa should call him "the wicked lord of Mālava?" Besides, the statement in the *Harṣacharita* that Kānyakubja was "seized by the man named Gupta"⁵² clearly proves, it was in the possession of some other power, which could be no other but the Maukharis at this time. Thus, in my humble opinion, the evidence of Bāṇa naturally

48 J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 554.

49 Ibid., pp. 557-58.

50 Vol. XIV, p. 370 (new edition). See also H.C.C.T., Preface pp. xi-xii; C. V. Vaidya, H.M.H.I., p. 40; Peterson, *Kādambarī*, Introd., p. 53; F. E. Hall, *Vāsavadattā*, p. 52; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 69, for this view.

51 H.C.C.T., p. 173.

52 Ibid., p. 224. "*Devabhūyaṃ gate deve Rājyavardhane Guptanāmnā cha gṛihīte Kuśasthale*" (Calcutta ed., p. 603). Does the man named Gupta here refer to Śaśāṅka? Bühler at any rate noted that in one Ms. of the *Harṣacharita* he is called Narendragupta (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 70). See also Allan's *Gupta Coins*, Introd., p. lxiiv on this point.

leads to the conclusion that Rājyaśrī was residing in Kanauj when it was attacked by the "wicked lord of Malwa," and it was there that she was imprisoned after her husband's murder. This tragedy was followed by the relief of Kanauj by Rājyavardhana, but its effects were soon counteracted by the recapture of the Maukhari capital by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, who had come all the way from Bengal to assist the Mālava king in his aggressive designs against the allied houses of Thānesvar and Kanauj.⁵³

Moreover, our authorities indicate that Rājyaśrī returned to Kanauj after her wanderings in the Vindhya, and the vacant throne was offered by the statesmen to Harṣa.⁵⁴ If Kanauj had not been the Maukhari capital there is no reason why she should have settled there and "administered the government in conjunction with her brother," according to the *Fang-chih*.⁵⁵ Our conclusion probably gains additional support from the provenance of the Maukhari inscriptions and coins. Considering the portability of the latter this evidence is of course flimsy, but here it gains some weight when taken in conjunction with that of Bāṇa. As stated above, a large number of coins was found associated with those of Śilāditya Pratāpśīla in Bhitaura in the district of Fyzabad. Some were found by Rivett Carnac at Ayodhya and others were obtained in Ramnagar, in Rohilkhand, the ancient Ahichchhatra.⁵⁶ The two chief inscriptions of Harivarman's line were discovered in the city of Jaunpur and Haraha in the Bara-Banki district, near Lucknow. All these findspots lie in the United Provinces, and are not situated far from Kanauj too. Besides, we know that except the Nalanda seals all the Maukhari inscriptions discovered in Magadha belong to the line of Yajñavarman. The records of the Later Guptas,

53 That Kānyakubja was first annexed by the king of Malwa after Grahavarman's death seems also implied in the statement, "There is moreover a report that the villain purposes to invade and seize *this country* (Thānesvar), (as well) (HC.C.T., p. 173).

54 Beal, *Records of Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 211; Watters, I, p. 343.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 345; Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 4th ed., p. 351.

56 *Arch. Surv. of India*, IX, p. 27,

in which we have incidental notices of some Maukhari kings, further show that the Maukharis could not possibly flourish in Magadha side by side with them. We may, therefore, say in conclusion that the available evidence and the consensus of opinion of scholars point to Kanauj as the capital of Harivarman's line, and there is nothing to prove the contrary.

Harivarman

Harivarman appears to have been the founder of the Maukhari house of Kanauj, as he is the first to be named in the known records of this dynasty. Probably he or one of his immediate ancestors moved westwards to Kanauj during the decline of the Guptas; but with the materials at hand it is impossible to guess what relation this successful adventurer bore to the line of the Maukharis mentioned in the Barabar and Nagarjuni hill cave inscriptions. The Haraha inscription gives him the proud epithet of *Jvālāmukha*, or flame-faced; and the Asirgaḍh seal further testifies that "his fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess, and by affection (for him)"⁵⁷ He bears, however, only the subordinate title of Mahārāja, which perhaps shows that the use of laudatory expressions in the inscriptions is due not to any considerable power wielded by him, but to the simple fact that he was the first Maukhari to attain distinction.

Ādityavarman

Harivarman was succeeded by his son, Ādityavarman, "begotten of the Bhaṭṭārikā and Devī Jayasvāminī." He seems to have been a staunch follower of the Brahmanical cult, and the Haraha inscription describes his "sacrificial performances" in very eloquent terms.⁵⁸ The anonymous predecessor of Īśvaravarman, who is represented in the Jaunpur inscription as acquiring "religious merit arising from sacrifices"⁵⁹ may therefore be identified with Ādityavarman.

57 *C.I.I.*, p. 221; also see *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 119, verses 4-5.

58 *Ibid.*, verse 7.

59 *C.I.I.*, p. 230.

He is also called merely Mahārāja, and is recorded to have married Devī Harṣaguptā. She was probably the sister of the Later Gupta king, Harṣagupta, as it was a common practice in those days for brothers and sisters to bear such identical names, of course with variation of gender in the ending to indicate the sex.⁶⁰

Īśvaravarman

The fragmentary condition of the Jaunpur inscription unfortunately causes some difficulty in the correct attribution of the exploits recorded therein. The lacunae being extensive, Fleet remarked that "it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īśvaravarman, or to one of his descendants."⁶¹ Let us, therefore, closely follow the evidence of the extant portion. Īśvaravarman is described in it as having "allayed the trouble (caused) by the approach of cruel people, and which affected the happiness of mankind," and as being "a very lion to (hostile) kings."⁶² Immediately after this description occurs an account of some of his victorious engagements. We are told that "a spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhara . . . the lord of the Andhras, wholly given over to fear, took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains. . . . went to the Raivataka mountain . . . among the warriors of the Andhra army who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out."⁶³ The specific mention of these achievements in the very next passage after a tribute in general terms to Īśvaravarman for his heroic qualities probably shows that the author intended to ascribe them to the same king. But the damaged condition of the inscription does not make it clear whether the claims of instilling fear in the minds of the "lord of the Andhras" and the adversary who "went to

60 *C.I.I.*, *Introd.*, p. 14.

61 *C.I.I.*, No. 51, p. 229. See also Hirānanda Śāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 6, 112, note 6; Aravamuthan's *Kaveri, Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 90.

62 *C.I.I.*, 6, 230.

63 *Ibid.*

the Raivatāka mountains" are mere rhodomontade, or actually refer to some victories achieved by Īśvaravarman against these southern monarchs. One thing, however, appears certain from the description that "a spark of fire," i.e., the king of Dhara, undertook an aggressive campaign against Īśvaravarman, and the latter probably emerged triumphant in this trial of arms.⁶⁴ His successful resistance against these odds must have considerably enhanced Īśvaravarman's power and prestige; and we may therefore consider him as the first Maukhari king who really brought the family into prominence. He did not, however, attain to imperial dignity, as the Asirgaḍh seal gives him the unostentatious title of Mahārāja only. This seems an additional reason to hold that the Jaunpur inscription simply registers Īśvaravarman's successful defence of the kingdom, and has no bearing on any of his "imperial ambitions," or the extension of his "conquests towards the west, up to Dhara, to the Vindhya, and Raivatāka (Girnar) mountains, in pursuit of the Andhras," as Dr. R. K. Mookerji would have us believe.⁶⁵

Īśānavarman

Īśvaravarman was succeeded by his son, Īśānavarman, whose mother was the Bhaṭṭārīkā and Devī Upaguptā. Presumably the second element of her name indicates that Upaguptā was also a Gupta princess. Thus, the marriages of two successive Maukhari kings—Ādityavarman and Īśvaravarman—with Gupta princesses clearly show that the two houses were at first on very cordial terms. Indeed, the subordinate title Mahārāja given to the first three Maukhari rulers may even lend some colour to the view that they recognised the suzerainty of the Later Guptas, who were yet powerful in the north.

It appears that Īśvaravarman did not long survive the disturbances that had occurred during his reign; and so his successor was called upon to avert the falling fortunes of his

64 Was there any confederacy formed by these southern powers against the rising state of Kanauj?

65 *Harṣa* (Rulers of India Series), p. 54.

dynasty like a second Skandagupta. This fact seems to be metaphorically alluded to in the following statement of the Haraha inscription: "By whom the earth was forcibly upheld, like a broken boat, after fastening it on all sides by hundred fold virtues (or, strings), when it was sinking below the invisible ocean of the nether regions, being shaken by the storm of Kali."⁶⁶ Fortunately, the record also makes specific mention of the foes against whom Īśānavarman had to contend before he could feel his position secure, or exercise any power effectively. We are told that Īśānavarman "occupied the throne after:—

(a) "conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants;"

(b) vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses;"

(c) causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm."⁶⁷

Unhappily the data for the history of the period are very scanty, and this makes it difficult for us to identify the kings over whom Īśānavarman is recorded to have achieved victories. It is not clear who is signified here by the title of "Lord of the Andhras." The old Andhra empire had crumbled to pieces long ago, and the country had been partitioned among three or more dynasties (See Prof. K. R. Subramanian's *History of Andhra between 225 to 610 A.D.*) The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the dominant power in the sixth century A.D., and so Īśānavarman's Andhra opponent must have belonged to this family. It appears probable that he was either Indravarman or Vikramendravarman, but until their chronological position is more definitely established the identification cannot be regarded as beyond doubt. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, however, thinks that the Andhra king probably was Mādhavavarman II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family,⁶⁸ who "shortly before the invasion of Pulakesi II . . . crossed the river Godāvārī with the

⁶⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 120, verse 15.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, verse 13.

⁶⁸ *Political Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 405; *J.A.S.B.*, p. 319, note 5.

desire to conquer the eastern region."⁶⁹ Whoever he might be, it appears certain that he was particularly active about this time, since the Jaunpur inscription also records warlike relations between the Maukharis and the Andhras during the reign of Īśvaravarman, and it is possible that both the father and the son had to fight against the same Andhra king. Nor are we in a better position to identify the Śūlikas and locate them correctly. Possibly they are identical with the Śaulikas of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* (xiv, 8) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and are to be located in the south-east, near Kāliṅga, Vīdarbhā, and Chedi.⁷⁰ But Mr. B. C. Mazumdar makes the suggestion that the Śūlikas lived on the sea-coast near the modern district of Midnapore (Bengal).⁷¹ According to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, on the other hand, they are to be identified with the Chālukyas. He argues that the "Śūlika may be another dialectic variant,"⁷² since in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁷³ the name appears as "Chalikya;" and in the Gujārat records we find the forms Solaki⁷⁴ and Solanki. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription further informs us that about this time the Chālukyas were extending their power on all sides, and one of their kings Kīrtivarman I, claims to have made conquests in Aṅga, Vāṅga, Magadha, Madraka, and Kāliṅga, etc.⁷⁵ Probably in their northward progress they came into conflict with Īśānavarman, and suffered a defeat at his hands.

Regarding the Gauḍas as a political power, we get the earliest definite epigraphic reference in the Haraha inscription. It appears from the term *Samudrāśrayān*

69 Jouveau Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 92.

70 *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 189. Fleet, however, connected them with the Mūlikas mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 48, 23) as a people living in the north-west division (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 186). See also Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. xxxi; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, p. 127.

71 *Orissa in the Making*, p. 105.

72 *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 405-6; *J.A.S.B.*, 1920, p. 319, n. 6.

73 *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 16, text line 2; *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt., II, p. 336.

74 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 156.

75 *Ibid.*, part II, p. 345.

applied to them that they occupied the seaboard of western Bengal, but we do not know with certainty what local dynasty was ruling there at that time.⁷⁶ They had now distinctly entered upon a career of aggrandisement, since not only does this record represent them as "issuing forth from their proper realm," but the Aphasad inscription also mentions Jīvitagupta I's struggles against these "haughty foes" who "stood on seaside shores."⁷⁷ Considering this, and the fact that between the kingdoms of Gauḍa and Kanauj intervened the Gupta dominion of Magadha, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that both Īśānavarman and his Gupta contemporary may have co-operated to check the advance of the Gauḍas towards the north. These successes spurred on the ambitions of Īśānavarman, and he began to claim imperial dignity by assuming the title of Mahārājādhirāja. But the Guptas could not long tolerate Īśānavarman's pretensions to supremacy or any growth in his strength, and so an appeal to arms became inevitable. This open rupture between the two houses is one of the most important events of Īśānavarman's reign, and is thus recorded in the Aphasad inscription: "By whom playing the part of the mountain Mandara, there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings."⁷⁸ This passage occurring in a record of a different dynasty is indeed remarkable, as besides testifying to the defeat of Īśānavarman, it also implies his great power.⁷⁹ It

76 See the Faridpur copper plates for a set of three kings of Gauḍa. Perhaps they were slightly later in date than the one referred to in the Haraha inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 193f; *J. A. B.*, X, p. 425f; *Ibid.*, VII, p. 289f). Dr. R. G. Basak conjectures (see *The History of North-Eastern India*, p. 113) that the Gauḍa opponent of Īśānavarman was possibly Jayanāga, referred to in the Vappaghoshavata grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1925, pp. 60f) and the Buddhist work *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (chap. 58, p. 636, edited by Gaṇapati Śāstrī).

77 *C.I.I.*, no. 42, p. 205.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

79 Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the other hand, seems to think that Kumāragupta was the vanquished party in this duel. He says: "Īśānavarman, who achieved three important victories in three different regions

must have been a severe blow—although only temporary—to the rise of the Maukharis, and probably after this victory, Kumāragupta even pushed his territories as far west as Prayāga, for there are indications that his funeral rites took place there.⁸⁰

Lastly, we may mention that, like his predecessor, he was also a Brahmanist, and during his reign it is claimed that "the three Vedas were born afresh."

Sarvavarman

Īśānavarman was succeeded by his son, Sarvavarman, whose mother was the Bhaṭṭārikā and Mahādevī Lakṣmīvati. The Haraha inscription discloses to us that Īśānavarman had another son named Sūryavarman, who during the life-time of his father caused a dilapidated temple of Śiva to be "raised at his wish and made an ornament of the earth." He is not mentioned in any other record, which probably shows that either he predeceased his father, or there was a struggle for succession, and Sūryavarman being worsted in the fight was ousted or put to death. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, on the other hand, tries to identify the Maukhari Sūryavarman with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta.⁸¹ He is there described as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their supremacy (ādhīpatya)". But there seems little reason to uphold this identification, since according to the learned editor of this undated inscription, its characters "belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D.," which indicates that Sūryavarman "must have flourished about the 8th century A.D."⁸²

and according to inscription No. 1 (his number)—a fourth victory over the Malwa king Kumāragupta".....(*Harṣa*, pp. 54-55; see also N. Ray, *Cal. Rev.*, Feb., 1928, p. 207, for the same view).—But if one reads between the lines of the verses, this conclusion seems utterly unwarranted. It may be remarked that the view adopted in the text is also endorsed by Fleet.

⁸⁰ *C.I.I.*, p. 206, note 3.

⁸¹ *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 407 note 3. See for the inscription *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 191f.

⁸² *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 185.

Sarvavarman turned out to be a chip of the old block; and he thoroughly avenged his father's defeat by his successful engagements with the Guptas. We are told in the Apsad inscription that Dāmodargupta "breaking up the proudly-stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."⁸³ Although the poet appears to make the conventional claim for his hero's victory, the result of the struggle was in effect certainly adverse to Dāmodaragupta, as he is reported to have been killed on the battlefield itself. Now, who was this rival of the Guptas with the unassuming epithet of "Maukhari"? There seems little doubt that it refers to Sarvavarman, for in the Asirgaḍh seal he alone is specifically mentioned as "Sarvavarman, the Maukhari." The significance of this term, occurring in an inscription of the dynasty, would be lost unless we do suppose that owing to some reason it had become specially associated with Sarvavarman's name. Besides, we have already seen that the rivalry between the Guptas and Maukharis in the preceding generation had ended against Īśānavarman, and this must have made his successor smart keenly under the blow. Sarvavarman, therefore, tried to retrieve the disaster, and his efforts against his Gupta contemporary met with conspicuous success.⁸⁴

Perhaps after the defeat and death of Dāmodaragupta, Magadha or at least its western portion was annexed by Sarvavarman. This conclusion seems evident from the Deo-Baranark inscription in which one Sarvavarman, identified with the Maukhari king of the same name, confirms a grant that was previously made by Bālāditya, the famous conqueror of the Hūṇas.⁸⁵ We can explain this grant in the modern Shaha-

83 C.I.I., 206.

84 Cunningham thinks that this rivalry is indicated in the coins as well. He says: "As a curious proof of the antagonism between the Guptas and the Maukharis, I may cite the fact that on the coins the Maukhari king has his face turned to the left, in the opposite direction to that of the Gupta kings. This opposition is also seen on the coins of Toramāṇa, the successor and probable supplanter of Budhagupta". (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* XVI, p. 81; also see *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 849-50).

85 C.I.I., p. 215.

bad district of Bihar and Orissa province only on the assumption that the supremacy over Magadha had passed to the Maukharis after this victory. What happened to the Later Guptas cannot be ascertained definitely, but the *Harṣacharita* probably gives a faint trace of their movements. Bāṇa calls Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, *Mālavarājaputra* (sons of the king of Malwa); and as the latter has been accepted on almost all hands as identical with Mādhavagupta of the Apsad inscription,⁸⁶ it may not be unreasonable to suggest that Mahā-senagupta, the son of Dāmodaragupta, retired to some part of Malwa, which continued to acknowledge the Gupta supremacy even after the downfall of the Imperial family.⁸⁷ This was probably Eastern Malwa, corresponding to the Bhilsa district on the Vetravati, for we are told in the commentary of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vatsyāyana (Adhikaraṇa, III) that Ujjain denoted Western Malwa, and where only Malwa is mentioned it should be taken to mean Eastern Malwa.⁸⁸

The same passage, which records Sarvavarman's successful encounter with his Gupta rival also informs us that the "proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari . . . had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death)."⁸⁹ Now, who were the Hūṇa opponents of Sarvavarman? There are indications in the *Harṣacharita* that the Hūṇas had retained their hold in the north-west, in spite of their expulsion from Central India. Prabhākara-vardhana had fought against them and towards the close of his reign he had to send the crown-prince again to defend the frontiers of the kingdom against their attack. Probably these Hūṇas began their movements during the time of Sarvavarman, and being a great power in Northern India the

86 e.g., see *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 555-56.

87 Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 391-92. (Betul plates of 199 G.E., and Khoh inscription of 209 G.E. etc.).

88 *Ujjayinīdeśabhavayastū evaparamūlavayah Mālavya iti pūrva-mūlavhavā* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, p. 259 foot note 4; see also *Cal. Rev.* Feb., 1928, p. 210).

89 It appears from the manner of description that Sarvavarman inflicted a defeat on the Hūṇas before he came into conflict with Dāmodaragupta.

Maukharis were then called upon to hold these nomads in check. The Vardhanas were not strong in this generation, and, as Thānesvar lay between Kanauj and the Hūṇa territories in the south-east of the Punjab, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that Sarvavarman's undertakings against the Hūṇas were a sort of help given to the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save northern India from another Hūṇa upheaval.

Avantivarman

Unfortunately we do not stand on firm ground in regard to Sarvavarman's successor owing to a curious break in the records. Scholars are at variance, but the general opinion appears to be that Susthitavarman wore the Maukhari crown after Sarvavarman.⁹⁰ This is usually assumed on the strength of the following passage in the Aphsad inscription: "The illustrious Mahāsenagupta . . . whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war, over the illustrious Susthitavarman, (and) (white) as a full-blown jasmine flower or water-lily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?) is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lohitya the surfaces of which are (so) cool, by the siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel-plants, that are in full bloom."⁹¹

It is contended that as two generations of the Later Guptas, viz., Kumāragupta and Dāmodaragupta, were on terms of enmity with two successive Maukhari rulers—Īśānavarman and Sarvavarman the opponent of the third Gupta king Mahāsenā must necessarily have been a Maukhari. The conclusion seems to be rather over sanguine, and even unwarranted for several reasons. In the first place, none of the epigraphs mentions Susthitavarman as a Maukhari, and the Aphsad inscription also does not say a word indicating that he belong-

90 Fleet, *C.I.I.*, *Introd.*, p. 15; C. V. Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 34; Dr. R. K. Mookerji, *Harṣa*, p. 55; Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacarita*, Trans. Preface, p. xi. note 3. For the opposite view see Dr. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 408; R. D. Banerji, *J.B.O.R.S.*, June, 1928, p. 254f. Aravamutan, *Sangam Age*, pp. 93-96.

91 *C.I.I.*, pp. 203-206.

ed to the Maukhari lineage. Secondly, the description of Mahāsenā's victory as "still constantly sung on the banks or (the river) Lohitya" or Brahmaputra shows beyond doubt that the reference here is to his rivalry with some king of Assam, and not to a Maukhari ruler, as the Maukharis were never masters of the Brahmaputra valley. But it is not clear from the passage whether the Brahmaputra is mentioned as the farthest limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests or simply refers to the place where the actual battle was fought. In my humble opinion the latter interpretation seems more convincing.

Curiously enough, the Nidhanpur plates⁹² mention a Susthitavarman as the father of Bhāskaravarman contemporary with Harṣa. He is perhaps identical with the king called in the *Harṣacharita* Susthiravarman.⁹³ (?) That Susthiravarman and Susthitavarman were one and the same person is also proved by the identity of the names of his son and of his three immediate ancestors, as furnished by the *Harṣacharita*, the Nidhanpur plates, and the Nalanda seals.⁹⁴

Thirdly, the Deo-Baranark inscription omits the name of Susthitavarman, and makes Avantivarman, confirm a grant previously made by Sarvavarman.⁹⁵ This probably shows that Avantivarman was considered to be the successor of Sarvavarman.

Fourthly, no coins of Susthitavarman have been found associated with those of the other Maukhari rulers. On the other hand, coins of Avantivarman have been discovered in Bhitaura along with those of Išānavarman and Sarvavarman. Thus, the trend of evidence favours the elimination of Susthitavarman from the Maukhari genealogy, and proves that it was Avantivarman who succeeded Sarvavarman.

Very little is known about Avantivarman. We do not even know what relationship he bore to Sarvavarman; but considering the fact that he came to the throne after the latter,

92 *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 69.

93 *H.C.C.T.*, p. 217.

94 *J.B.O.R.S.*, V, pp. 302-6.

95 *C.I.I.*, p. 215.

and there is no case in the Maukhari dynasty of a brother succeeding a brother, it may be tentatively assumed that Avantivarman was a son of Sarvavarman. Bāṇa calls him the pride of the Mukhara race, which stood "at the head of all royal houses," and was worshipped, like Śiva's footprint, by all the world."⁹⁶ There are also indications that he was a patron of Viśākhadatta, the celebrated author of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*. This hypothesis is based on the reading Rantivarman or Avantivarman, instead of "Chandraguptaḥ," in the *Bharatavākya*, which occurs in some manuscripts, as is noticed by Mr. Telang in his edition of the play.⁹⁷ That the Maukhari rulers were patrons of literature is evident from the introductory stanza of the *Kādambarī* in which Bāṇa represents his *guru* Bhātsu as being "honoured by crowned Maukharis."⁹⁸

Grahavarman

According to the *Harṣacharita*, Avantivarman was succeeded by his eldest son (sūnuragraja) named Grahavarman. He "a prince like the lord of planets, descended upon earth,"⁹⁹ is further recorded to have won the hand of princess Rājyaśrī of Thānesvar. Bāṇa gives a very vivid description of this marriage; how the royal palace was thronged with feudatories ready to do service, and how the nuptial ceremony was performed at the auspicious time with oriental splendour.¹⁰⁰ It is not clear whether Avantivarman was alive at the time of this union. Bāṇa, at any rate, represents Grahavarman as opening the matrimonial negotiations, which probably shows that his father was then dead. On the other hand, we should be cautious in drawing any conclusion from Avantivarman's absence during the ceremonies, for he may have stayed behind deeming it imprudent to leave the capital unprotected. From

⁹⁶ HC.C.T., p. 122.

⁹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 67; *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 535; *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 585-93; Aravamuthan's *Sangam Age*, p. 95. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, however, believes that the true reading in the *Bharatavākya* is "Chandraguptaḥ", whom he identifies with Chandragupta II (*Ind. Ant.*, XLII., p. 265 etc.).

⁹⁸ *Kādambarī*, Trans. by Ridding, p. 1.

⁹⁹ HC.C.T., pp. 122-23.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-28.

the political point of view it was a very important alliance. It linked up the two powerful houses of the Maukharis of Kanauj and the Vardhanas of Thānesvar, and was largely instrumental in shaping the course of history during that momentous period. The Later Guptas, who owing to their inveterate rivalry with the Maukharis, were courting the Vardhana alliance—as is evident from the marriage of Mahāsenaguptā—finally broke off all old relations and formed an *entente* with the Gaudas. This policy at first seemed to augur well for the Guptas. Devagupta of Malwa¹⁰¹ advanced against Kanauj with the support and co-operation of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauda¹⁰² just at the opportune moment when Prabhākaravardhana had died. Thus says Bāṇa: "On the very day on which the king's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Malwa cut off from the living along with his noble deeds."¹⁰³ Kanauj was seized and occupied; and Rājyaśrī was thrown into a dungeon "with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet." Such brutal treatment meted out to a young lady—the wife of the dead monarch—incidentally throws light not only on the inhuman character of the Gupta king, but also on the unmoral laws of war during that age. So far the Gupta-Gauda scheme was eminently successful, and Kanauj lay prostrate before their combined forces. But they did not long enjoy the fruits of their aggression, for, as I have shown elsewhere at length, the timely efforts of Rājyavardhana and, after his death, of Harṣa, soon led to the relief of Kanauj, which afterwards became the seat of the latter's government.¹⁰⁴

Extent of the Maukhari Kingdom

In connection with this topic I would urge readers to consult my article on "*The extent of Harṣa's Empire*," appearing in the September-December, 1932, number of this Journal (pp. 296-331), where, on a consideration of coins and

101 Madhuban inscription. See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 70; C. V. Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 35.

102 Beal, *Records of Yuanchwang*, vol. I, p. 211.

103 *HC.C.T.*, p. 173.

104 *Malaviyaji Commemoration Volume*, pp. 251-276.

inscriptions of the dynasty, along with their internal evidence, I have adopted the view that during its fullest expansion the Maukhari kingdom extended up to Ahichchhatra and the frontiers of the Thānesvar kingdom on the west; to Nalanda on the east; on the north it may have touched the Terai districts; and on the south it probably did not go beyond the southern boundaries of the present United Provinces. These territories were undoubtedly of sufficient dimension to justify the assumption of imperial titles by later Maukhari rulers after Īśānavarman.

Some Maukhari Dates

One of the chief items of information furnished by the Haraha inscription is a date for Īśānavarman, which we may profitably utilise here to determine the chronological setting of these Maukhari rulers. It is expressed in the following verse : "When six hundred had increased by eleven, while the illustrious Īśānavarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth."¹⁰⁵ The record thus yields us the year 611; but, as according to the dictionary one of the alternative senses of the word '*atirikṭa*' is "superfluous or redundant"¹⁰⁶ it has been suggested that "the other possible meaning will be 589."¹⁰⁷ We may, however, throw doubt on this interpretation on the ground that there is no instance known where the term is used in this sense. Unfortunately, the inscription does not specify the era, but from the use of the word *śaradām* it has rightly been pointed out that it indicates the Mālava or Vikrama era, which in the opinion of Dr. Kielhorn began in *śarad* or autumn.¹⁰⁸ This reference to the Vikrama era is, as affirmed by Mr. Mazumdar, "also not opposed to palaeographical considerations."¹⁰⁹ Converting, therefore, the Vikrama year 611 into the corresponding date of the Christian era, we find that Īśānavarman was ruling in the year 554 A.D.

105 Ekādaśātirikṭeshu śaṭsu satitavidvishi śāteshu śaradām patyau bhuvah śrīśānavarmani (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 118, 120, verse 21).

106 Monier-Williams' *Sans-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 15.

107 *Ann. Rep., Lucknow Museum.*, 1915, p. 3. foot note.

108 *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 407.

109 *Ibid.*, XLVI, p. 126.

Sir Richard Burn, on the other hand, has shown that some coins of Sarvavarman, the son and successor of Īśāna, bear the date 553 A.D.¹¹⁰ If we accept this, we must reject the date mentioned in the Haraha inscription, for unless we do so the dates of the father and son overlap each other, which is obviously contrary to the natural course of events.

Another way of reconciling this chronological impossibility is to accept the other 'possible' date for the Haraha inscription, viz., 589 Vikrama era or 532 A.D., but before we adopt any such view let us first carefully consider the dates on the coins. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who had the opportunity of examining these coins deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, says: "I have come to the conclusion that the date marks on the coins of Sarvavarman (as well as other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared; and as such it is impossible to say at which particular date these coins were issued. So it is better not to infer anything from them, and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct. I may also add that Mr. R. D. Banerji is also of the same opinion; and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with any care."¹¹¹ Our difficulty in relying on these coins is further augmented by the widely divergent readings proposed by scholars, which we now proceed to analyse in the following table :

NAME OF KING	RAPSON : CUNNING- HAM :		SMITH :	FLEET :	BURN :	BROWN :	DIK- SHIT
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(a) Īśānavarman	54,55	55or155 or 257	54	40,60	4	××5	245 257 54 55 57
(b) Sarvavarman			58		234 23-	234 23-	258 259 25× 58
(c) Avantivarman					250 57 71	250 57 70(?)	260D 26× 57 17

¹¹⁰ *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 849,

¹¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 126.

(1) "There is some doubt as to the reading of these dates; and the era to which they should be referred is altogether doubtful" (*Indian Coins*, p. 27).

(2) "Imperfect date in front of face. Legend in old Gupta characters: "*Devajanita Vijitāvaniravanipati Śrī Śānti Varmā*." The date appears to be the same on all the three specimens in the plates. I read it as 55, and would complete it to 155, if I could be certain that this Śāntivarmā is the same king who is mentioned in the Aphsad inscription (*Ann. Surv. Ind. Ref.*, ix, p. 27). In a subsequent report, while admitting that the name is "clearly and unmistakably Īśānavarmā" Cunningham remarked; "I possess two of these coins, one of which has a date in front of the face, which may be read as 257" (*Ibid.*, xvi, p. 81).

(3) "Date, apparently in the same era as Toramaṇa's, 54. This coin is probably one of Īśānavarman Although the date is quite plain Cunningham notes it as "not read" (*J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 193). Again, Dr. Hoey's coins now published add the dates 54 and 58. The legend on the coin dated 58 is damaged, and every letter of the king's name cannot be read with certainty. But the name begins with *Sa*, and I have no doubt that the reading above given is correct" (*Ibid.*, p. 194).

(4) The marginal legend commencing above the peacock's head is: "*Vijit-āvan(i)r-avan(i)-pati-śr-ī-śānavarmā deva jayati*." "On the obverse of the coin in front of the king's face, there are two marks which may perhaps be the numerical symbols for 40, 60, or 70 and 5. But they are very imperfect and doubtful" (*Ind. Ant.*, xiv, p. 68).

(5) (a)...*Coins of Īśānavarman*: "As usual the name is written Śrīśānavarmā, the initial *i* being merged in the title Śrī. One coin bears a date which I read as 4x, but even the tens figure is doubtful" (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 844).

(b) *Sarvavarman*: "Name written Śrīsarvavarma. Two coins bear dates which I read as 234 and 23—. The face is to right, and the reading of 200 is thus not quite certain, as the mark denoting the number of hundreds which stands at the right of the symbol is not on the coin" (*Ibid.*).

(c) *Avantivarman*: "Name written Śrīvantivarma. Three distinct dates are found, viz., 250 (one coin); 57 (five coins); 71

(one coin). There are also six coins, on which the dates are very doubtful, and four from which they have disappeared (*Ibid.*, p. 845). Later on, Sir Richard Burn adds: "It will be noticed that Sarvavarman's and Avantivarman's dates overlap, and it is possible that what I have read as 57, for the latter should be 67" (*Ibid.*, p. 849).

(6) Mr. Brown evidently concurs with Sir Richard Burn in most of his readings. See *Catal. of Coins of the Guptas, Maukharis etc. in the Luck. Mus.*, 1920, p. 29.

(7) I owe the readings, as given by Mr. Dikshit in his unpublished paper to Mr. Aravamuthan's *Sangam Age*. I have read Mr. Aravamuthan's scholarly discussion (pp. 102-7) with profit.

It is thus evident how very uncertain and various the readings on these coins are. The only dates on which there is some degree of agreement are 54 and 257 for Īśānavarman; 58 and 234 for Sarvavarman; and 57, 71 and 250 for Avantivarman. These must evidently refer to two distinct eras, as some of the numbers are expressed in two digits only, and others in three. Sir Richard Burn is of opinion that the numbers in three digits are in the Gupta era, and those in two point to years in the Maukhari era beginning from about 500 or 499 A.D., when Ārya Bhaṭa composed his great astronomical work and exactly 3,600 years of the Kaliyuga had elapsed.¹¹² But the Haraha inscription shows that the Maukharis used a third era, whether we take its date to be the year 589 or 611 *vikrama*. It therefore baffles explanation why, if the Maukharis had started an era of their own, an inscription of the dynasty does not use it. Besides, the years 257 for Īśāna, and 234 or 250 for the later kings; 58 for Sarvavarman and 57 for his successor, are gross absurdities; and there is no known case of the prevalence of several eras in such a circumscribed territory as that of the Maukharis. Thus, any reliance on the dates supplied by the coins only makes confusion worse confounded; and we must, therefore, choose the alternative of accepting the date given in the Haraha inscription, which, as discussed above, is the

Vikrama year 611=554 A.D. This is one of the starting points in the Maukhari chronology, and the other is 606 A.D., when Grahavarman was killed. Hence assigning an average of twenty years to each of the six rulers, the seventh reign being extremely short we feel justified in assuming that the Maukharis began their rule over Kanauj sometime about the close of the fifth century A.D.

On The Conventional Methods of Punishment And Disgrace In Folklore

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Riding the Ass.

In the *Śukasaptatikāthā* 3—we read that king Sudarśana punished a cheat by making him ride on an ass. This man was enamoured of the two beautiful wives of merchant Vimala, and in order to enjoy them he worshipped goddess Ambikā and obtained from her the boon of assuming the shape of Vimala. When the latter went out trading, the cheat came disguised as the merchant Vimala and established himself in his household enjoying his property and his wives. The true Vimala came afterwards, lodged a complaint before Sudarśana who was so puzzled that he could not distinguish between the two. Ultimately he called to him separately the wives of Vimala, and learnt from them some secrets relating to marriage which could only be known to the true Vimala. Then by putting these questions to the true and false Vimalas he distinguished the true from the false Vimala. Then he made the false Vimala ride on the ass and drove him out of his realm (*Marathi*, p. 10.—*naṁtara rājānāṁ tyā dhūrtācheṁ śāsana karūna gardhabhāvara basavūna rājyābāhera kaḍhuna dilhā*—Die Marathi-übersetzung der Śuksapatati von R. Schmidt. Leipzig. 1897) [The German translation is on p. 93 Da tiess der könig den Betrüger zur Strafe auf einen Esel setzen und stiess ihn aus dem Lande].

So again in *kathā* no. 21 Mandodarī through her wile made the minister hidden in the trunk believe that she dreamt that she had eaten the royal peacock, which she had actually eaten and of which she was accused by a hetæra and caused the latter's disgrace as for telling a lie and damning the reputation of the merchant's daughter. She was made to mount on an ass and banished.—“*āṇi tī kuṁṇiṇa mātabara sāvakāra yāci ijata ghetā hoti mhaṇūna gāḍhavā vara basavuna nagarabāhera ghālabi*” (pp. 37, 112).

In the *Life and Stories of Pārśvanātha* edited by Dr. Bloomfield (Baltimore, 1919) we read in the story of Kamaṭha and Marubhūti, two brothers, that Marubhūti having devoted himself to the Law entirely and led a life of chastity, his wife Vasundharā finally yielded to the lust of his brother Kamaṭha, and the two lived in incestuous adultery. Marubhūti having discovered it later on "reported the affair to the king, Aravinda, just but stern monarch, who had Kamaṭha forcibly mounted upon an ass, marked with many insignia of shame, and expelled from the city." (p. 39).

This is the most famous method that we remember being employed in the stories heard in our boyhood for disgracing the delinquent who was generally guilty of a moral offence for which death would be too heavy a punishment.

Dr. Bloomfield in an additional note on pp. 188-189 gives the following references. "Thus *Pārśvanātha* 3.885; *Vetā-lapañchaviṃśati* (Śivadasa) 21; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 232; *Samayamātṛkā* (Myer's Translation), p. 79 note. The ideal procedure is to put the delinquent's face to tail, holding the tail of the ass in hand in place of bridle, and so to be paraded round the city. See Elliott's *History of India* (ed. Dowson), VI, 300, and Weber's *Pañcadaṇḍacchatraprabandha*, p. 75."

The reference in the *Tibetan Tales* is to the story of Susroṇī who was married to king Brahmadata of Benares. The latter in order to guard her from sin kept her in the sea-island of Kaśerudvīpa and she was transported to him at night on the back of Suparṇa and sent back to the island during the day. There she sinned with Āsuga, a Brāhmaṇa youth, whom she conducted to Benares on the back of the bird-king. There he got blinded, was left in the park and subsequently discovered. The king no longer wanted her and in disgust gave her to the blind man. "Let her mount on an ass and get ye gone swiftly, expelled from this city," was the order. They were driven out of the city riding upon the same ass. Now this story has the Sussondi Jātaka (no. 360) for its original, which has a subsequent version in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kāṇḍa* of Kṣemendra in considerably later times. It found its way into the Tibetan sacred literature (*Bkaḥ-gyur* xi, 93-99). In the ori-

ginal Pāli Jātaka we read that the Supaṇṇo spirited away Sussondi, queen of Tambarāja, and kept her in Nāgadīpa. The king's musician Saggo went in search of her whom he found and enjoyed. Supaṇṇo thought, "What should I do with this faithless woman?" (*kiṃ etāya dussīlāyā*) and made her over to the king. There is no mention of the ass-riding incident. Evidently the Pāli tale underwent emendation at subsequent times before it got into the Tibetan *Kaḥ-gyur*.

The reference to Elliot is the following: From *Wākia't-i-Jahangiri* (Elliot, vol. VI). *Flight and Rebellion of Prince Khusru*, p. 291, et seq.

"On the third of Muharram 1015. A.H. Khusru was brought into my (Jahangir) presence in the garden of Miraja Kamiran, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side according to the rule of Chengiz Khan. Hussain Beg was on his right and Abdul Aziz on his left; he stood between them trembling and weeping. Hussain Beg, suspecting that they would make a scape-goat of him, began to speak sorrowfully, but they did not allow him to continue. I gave Khusru into custody, and ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and so to be paraded round the city. As the skin of a cow dries quicker than the skin of an ass Husain Beg lived only to the fourth watch, and then died. Abdul Aziz who was in the ass's skin, and had moisture conveyed to him, survived".

Mr. N. M. Penzer relates a tale in the *Ocean of Story* (vol. VII, p. 205) in which there is a reference to this method of disgracing a delinquent. The tale is of "King Dharmadhvaja and his three very sensitive wives".

"Dharmadhvaja . . . having ordered his father's minister, Abhaichand to be seized, caused all his hair to be shaved off but seven locks, had his face blackened and mounting him upon an ass with drums beating, sent him on a circuit through the city, and banished him from the country."

One of the main purposes of punishment is educative i.e. to serve as an example to intending or would-be delinquents and thus acting as a deterrent. Hence it is given as

wide a publicity as possible. Therefore the delinquent is led through the streets and drums are beaten to attract the notice of the people who come and see the criminal disgraced and punished. It is interesting to relate the treatment accorded to the thief in Pāli literature. Here of course the punishment was of a severer kind. The hands of the thief were tightly tied behind his back, round his neck was thrown a garland of red *kaṇavera* flowers (*kaṇavi*, oleander), *brick dust* was sprinkled on his head, at every square he was flagellated with thongs; to the accompaniment of the beating of the harsh sounding drum he was led to the place of execution (see *Kaṇavera-jātaḥa* No. 381.—*Nagaraguttiḥo naṃ pacchābāhaṃ gāḥhabandhanaṃ bandhāpetvā gīvāyassa rattakaṇaveramālaṃ laggetvā sise iṭṭhaka-cuṇṇaṃ okiritvā catukke catukke kaṣāhi tālāpentvā kharassareṇa paṇavena āghātaṇaṃ neti*). The garland of the *kaṇavera* flowers which the thief wore was called the *vajjhamālā* (cf. *Mṛchchhakaṭṭhika*). Its significance is that his position was that of a victim.

In the above story it is seen that the king caused all the hair of the minister, Abhaichand, to be *shaved off but seven locks*. This leaving of *seven locks* on the head after it was shaven off was also the traditional method employed in disgracing the criminal. In the *Mahābodhi-jātaḥa* (No. 528) we find a case of similar disgrace, but here only *five locks* are left, "*pañca-culākaraṇa-gaddulabandhanaṃ gomayasīṇcanehi avamānetvā raṭṭhā pabbājesi*." He stript them of all their property and disgracing them in various ways by fastening their hair into *five locks*, by putting them into fetters and chains, by sprinkling cowdung water he drove them out of his kingdom. The five locks left after the shaving of the head was regarded as a sign of disgrace as the *culā* was a mark of slapery (*Jātaḥa*, VI, 135). Likewise in *Jātaḥa* V (p. 249) a little boy of poor parents wears hair like this and is called *pañca-culā-kumāro* (see p. 125 of Cambridge translation of *Jātaḥa*, vol. V, where reference is given to *Kathāsarit*: *gāra*, XII, 168, and Tawney's translation, vol. I, p. 50 where as a mark of disgrace a woman's head is so shaved that five locks are left). In the *Khaṇḍahala-jātaḥa* we read

the following passage: "Sabbasikhino deva karoḥi athavā no dāse sāvehi'ti" (588) *Sabbasikhino'ti sabbe amhe matthake cūlaṃ ṭhapetvā attano ceṭaṭṭe karoḥi, mayaṃ te ceṭaṭṭakiccaṃ karissāma*. (Make us all sikhino, i.e. shave our heads so that *cūla*, tuft, is left thereon and thus make us your servants).

The corresponding passage of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (P. T. S.—vol. III, p. 321) is the following "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ dalhāya rajjuyā pacchābāhaṃ gāḷhabandhanaṃ bandhitvā khura-muṇḍakaṃ karitvā kharassareṇa paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghātakena siṅghāṭakaṃ parinetvā dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhamitvā dakkhinato nagarassa āghātane sīsaṃ chindatha." Here we have *khuramuṇḍakaṃ karitvā* (i.e. after having shaved his head) in the place of "*Sīse iṭṭhakacuṇṇaṃ okiritvā*."

The criminal was led from street to street, and from square to square till he was finally led out of the city through the south gate (probably south being Yama's quarters) to the place of execution. Thus a wide publicity was given to the punishment. Similarly in the *Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu* we get the following description: "Sādhu devā ti nagaraguttiko taṃ gāhāpetvā pacchābāhaṃ gāḷhabandhanaṃ bandhāpetvā ratta-vaṇṇaviralamālā bandhakaṇṭhaṃ iṭṭhakacuṇṇamakkhita-sīsaṃ vajjhapaṭaḥabheridesitamaggaṃ ratrikāya rathikaṃ siṅghātakena siṅghāṭakaṃ vicārāpetvā kasāhi tāḷento āghātanā-bhimukhaṃ neti ayaṃ imasmīṃ nagare vilumpamānaka coro gahito' ti kolāhalaṃ ahosi."¹

For shaving of Abhaichand and the *blackening of his face* we find a parallel in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (vol. I of "new series", O. U. P., 1928, p. 276) where the chaste wife disgraces the impostors who endeavoured to corrupt her: "Not only that, but she shaved the heads of all the four impostors as well, and the beards and moustaches of the men, and covered their faces with lamp black." The original story occurs in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*.

¹ Simon Hewavitarane Bequest (Ceylonese) PVA, II 3: Story of Sulasā, Cf. *Jātaka* 419; Mahāpaduma Jāt; also DHA, VIII, 3.

In vol. V of "*Ocean of Story*" Penzer relates that "the thief shaved the right cheeks of all the sentinels by way of insult." The object of shaving the head was probably to destroy one's personality. Penzer says (in p. 176, vol. I of *Ocean of Story*): "Lucian shows that the system of enforced temporary prostitution had been modified and that a modest woman might substitute a portion of her hair instead of her person. This fact is interesting as showing the belief in the hair possessing a large and important percentage of the owner's personality. Savages are known to practise magic with the hair, with intention to do harm to its possessor".

Cowdung water is mentioned to have been thrown on the criminal evidently to disgrace him (avamānetvā). Even in Bengali literature we find this method resorted to as in the short story of Mr. Prabhatkumar Mukherjee where the young pleader was doused in cowdung lotion by the mischievous boys who thus disgraced him. But the more common method in the nursery tales and perhaps in practice was to shave the delinquent clean of the hair and to douche him or her with sour milk and turn him or her out of the village. In Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Krishnakānter* will the Zemindar threatens Rohinī with this punishment.

Some years back in the famous Jeliapara song on the 13th of April (corresponding to the last day of the Bengali year) when freedom is taken to satirise the foibles of the society there was a representation of the delinquent being punished in this way. He rode on an ass with his face to the tail which he held in his hand in the right orthodox style and he narrated his guilt and sermonised in a spicy verse, spurred the animal which was led by another person and moved on to the very great delight of his admirers and himself. His head was shaved, and he had one cheek painted with lime and the other with black. In 1928 in the month of June, I hurried past a similar scene in Bakergunj, Patna, on my way to the University office. A man with a shaved head, his cheeks painted black and white, rode on an ass and moved on with a lot of children poking fun at him. Unfortunately I had no time to enquire whether it was a punishment in satire or in reality.

There is an interesting document in the Record room of Saran relating to this punishment. I am quoting it in full :

"To

CHARLES BODDAM, ESQ.,

Magistrate of Sarkar Saran :

Dyal charged with perjury, having been tried and convicted of perjury in a case of murder and sentenced to be mounted upon an ass and carried through the town of Chapra and at three of the most public places his crime proclaimed and to receive at each 13 Tazeannas, to be confined for the space of five years from the date hereof subject to hard labour and then to be released in conformity to the Fatwa of the Qazi Md. Ali and of the Mufti; it is hereby ordered that the execution of the said sentence be made and done upon the said Dyal without delay as commanded by the regulations passed by the Governor General in Council on the 1st day of May, 1793.

The 4th November, 1794.

Sd. HENRY (illegible)

2nd. Judge."

European Cemeteries at Balasore

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

I visited the European cemeteries at Balasore in the month of May, 1930.

The Dutch Cemetery lies behind the Zenana Hospital. There are two brick pyramids, about 16 or 17 ft. high, of a peculiar shape which may be called triangular. On the one is inscribed

MICHIELIANS

BURGGRAF

VANSEVEN

HUISEN OBITT

23 NOVEMBER,

1696

The inscription on the other has been nearly obliterated; the portion that is yet distinct reads "N. BELLA." There are two other nameless small tombs about 3' high.

In the Barabati Cemetery there are many tombs. The oldest is that raised to the sacred memory of the wife of Captain Wilshaw.

16 Here lyes the body 84

of Ann late wife of Captain Francis Wilshaw

and also the body of Edward his son

who died 27th of the same month, in 1684.

There is also a tomb of Isabella Kelsall who died on the 28th day of April, 1751 aged 17 years. Kelsall was one of the earliest residents of Balasore.

The following account of the cemeteries is found in the *District Gazetteer* of Balasore :

Among the most interesting remains in the town are the old European cemeteries. The oldest monument is one in the Barabati cemetery, erected in 1684 to the memory of the wife

and son of Wilshaw, the captain of the *Resolution*, which sailed from England in 1682 with the *Defence* carrying Hedges, the new Governor of the Company's settlements; in 1688 it formed one of a small English fleet under Heath, which took two French ships in the Balasore roads. The same cemetery contains several other tombs of the 18th century and a curious pillar with a flag marked H.S. In the Ulan Shahi quarter is a brick pyramid erected in memory of Burgraaf Van Sevenhuisen in 1696, and in the Old Cemetery is the tomb of the wife of Kelsall, one of the earliest Residents of Balasore, who died here in 1751. Of a later date scarcely less interesting is the monument erected in 1886 to the memory of Sir Henry Ricketts, one of the first and ablest Collectors of Balasore, with an inscription recording the fact that he served 12 years in Orissa and that "he never forgot Balasore nor the Oorcas." (p. 192).

I noticed among others the following tombs, of

1. Elizabeth Playd who died on the 10th August, 1789, Aged 19 years.

2. Major W. S. Parr—His Majesty's 22nd Regiment Foot, obit December 15, 1803.

3. Captain Francis Walter—died 12th June, 1808. The tomb was raised to him by his brother officers of the 2nd Battalion, 19th R. N. I.

4. Frederick John Morris, died May, 1815.

5. John Stritch, M.D., Assistant Surgeon of the Madras Establishment who died at this station on October 6, 1821 on his way to Calcutta.

6. Eliza Francis Dent, who departed this life on the 7th of August, 1823. Aged 19 years.

7. John Brown, Sub-conductor of Ordnance, died November 15, 1826.

8. Jane, the beloved wife of Henry Ricketts, Magistrate and Collector &ca. who departed this life at Balasore on November 25, 1830, aged 32 years, also of an infant daughter who was born on March 25, 1830, and died November 6, 1830.

9. Thomas Grand Reid who died October 2, 1833, Aged 32 years 5 months.

10. Laura, sister of W. S. Dicken, Civil Surgeon of Balasore, died 13th June, 1836.

11. Mary Henrietta, wife of E. Repton, Esq., C.S., died 30th October, 1836.

12. Margaret Isabella, wife of J. Fitzpatrick, Revenue Surveyor, died 22nd February, 1839.

13. Alfred Bond who died 12th October, 1879, aged 82.

There is also the following interesting monument to the memory of Sir Henry Ricketts.

14. Sir Henry Ricketts having served twelve years in Orissa and thirtyeight years in India, died in England on the 25th February, 1886. Aged nearly 84. He never forgot Balasore and the Ooreahs.

"Mahātmā Sir Henry Ricketts-aṅka smaraṇārtha ehā prastuta helā. Se Bāleshwara āu Uṛiyāmānaṅku kevehe bhuli na thile."

I have been able to identify some of the names on the tombs from historical records kept in the Record Room of the Collector of Balasore.

Eliza Francis Dent was probably the wife of W. Dent, whose name I find in vol. 9. He was then the Acting Collector of Government Customs at Balasore. He rewarded some *shikaris* for destruction of tigers and cubs and certified (12th November, 1818) that "all the Tyger's heads charged in the above statement have been carefully examined by me and I am satisfied that none of them were fictitious, nor for which the Government Rewards have been before paid." We find him as Collector of Government Customs, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Balasore from 1820 to 1824 (vols. 10, 14, 15). Reasons for his permanent appointment to the situation of Additional Registrar of Cuttack and Joint Magistrate stationed at Balasore are given in a letter from the Secretary to the Commissioner to him bearing date the 13th August, 1821.

I find mention of Mr. H. Ricketts in volumes beginning with no. 36. He was for the first time appointed as Joint Magistrate on the 4th January, 1827, on a salary of Rs. 666-10-13-1. He was made Collector and Joint Magistrate at Balasore and

given charge of the Police Thanas of Bhadrak and Jauzapore which were transferred to him on February 20, 1828 for which he was paid Rs. 2,000/- per month. He was also the Assistant to the Superintendent, Tributary Mahals. He submitted a very valuable report, as Collector of Balasore, on the various kinds of land tenures to Mr. George Stockwell, Commissioner, 19th Division, Cuttack. He was a very kind and humane officer, and did his best to relieve the misery and distress of the people caused by the terrible inundation and tempest of October 31, 1831 and the destructive gale of the 7th October, 1832. He imported considerable quantities of rice from Calcutta and distributed them in both Divisions. He was Collector of Government Customs, up to the 30th May, 1835. He was also the Salt Agent.

The following letter may prove interesting reading :

To

HENRY RICKETTS, ESQR.,
Collector of Balasore.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward sicca rupees 2,003. ans. 14 g 2 c 2 being the amount of duties collected in this office after retaining sufficient for the disbursements of the week for which I require the usual receipt.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. HENRY RICKETTS.

Collector of Govt. Customs.

Balasore,
Govt. Custom House,
The 4th Feb. 1832.

The chalan was written in Bengali, a copy of which I am giving below.

শ্রীশ্রীদুর্গা

সহায় ।

4th Feb. 1832

Signature of H. Ricketts

দাখিল তহবিল রূপেয়া কাছারি
কেলেঙ্করি মোকাম বন্দর বাণেশ্বর
সন ১৮৩২ সাল ৪ ফিবরিন

আসামী—

তক্ষা—

দাখিল করদে

সাহেব কষ্টম কালেঙ্করি

মোকাম বন্দর বাণেশ্বর বাবতে

পরমিট মাস্তুল মাং পদ্মলোচন মণ্ডল

খাজাঙ্কী ২০০৩৬৮/২৥ বাদ প্রপোট নাধ

১৥/৫৬ ও কমি ওজনের ভরণা বাট্টা

২।১৬৬ একুনে বাদ ৩৬৮/২ বাকী

শীর্কা—২০০০—

—মঃ দুই হাজার টাকা মাত্র

পদ্মলোচন মণ্ডল
খাজাঙ্কীর মাং

H. Ricketts became the Commissioner for the 19th Division, Cuttack in September, 1835.

I find mention of Thomas Grand Reid who was the Master Attendant at Balasore in 1827 in vol. 50. The Master Attendant's business was to make a survey of vessels tendered for freight.

I get the first mention of E. Repton in vol. 54, as Acting Collector of Balasore in a letter dated the 31st December, 1834. In several succeeding volumes (e.g. 71, 73, 79, 87, 96, 99, 100, 105, 115) I find mention of him as Collector, Salt Agent, Collector of Sea Customs, and Magistrate of Balasore. He was sworn in as Acting Deputy Collector of Revenue on the 7th August, 1834 (vol. 73). He temporarily took over charge of the office of the Salt Agent from William Vansittart on the 27th December, 1836 (vol. 79) and from E. E.

Woodstock on the 28th October, 1839 (vol. 115). He received charge of Sea Customs, Balasore, from E. E. Woodstock on July 26, 1838 (vol. 99) and the office of the Collector of Land Revenue on October 25, 1837 (vol. 105) from H. T. Raikes. The last reference to him as Collector is in a letter dated the 11th October, 1841 (vol. 100).

I am giving here copies of oath taken by him as Collector and as Justice of the Peace :

(a) I Edward Eardley Harris Repton appointed acting Deputy Collector of Revenue of the Northern Division of Zillah Cuttack do promise and swear, that I will, to the utmost of my endeavours well and faithfully execute and discharge the duties of an officer of Revenue, reposed in and committed to me by the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies; and that I will not demand, take or accept directly or indirectly by myself or by another person for my use or on my behalf, of or from any Rajah, Zamindar, Talookdar, Polygar, Farmer, Renter or Ryot or from any person, paying or liable to pay any tribute, Rent or Tax, to or for the use of the said United Company any sum of money, or other valuable thing, by way of Gift, present or otherwise, over and above or besides and except, the actual Tribute, rent or Tax authorised to be taken by and for the use of the said United Company; and I will justly and truly account for, answer and pay all the Rents, Duties or other Revenue and sums of money, which shall come to my Hand or to the Hand of any person or persons in trust for or Employed by me as an officer of the Revenues of the said United Company.

So help me God

Sd. EDWARD REPTON

Sworn before me

this the 7th August, 1834.

Sd. Henry Ricketts, Magistrate.

(b) I, Edward Eardley Harris Repton do swear that as Justice of the Peace for the Provinces dependent on Fort William in Bengal in all articles in the Queen's Commission to me directed I will do equal right to the poor and to the rich after my cun-

ning wit and power and after the Laws and Customs of the realm and statutes thereof made, that I will not be of counsel of any quarrel hanging before me and the issues and fines and americiaments that shall happen to be made and all forfeitures which shall before me I will cause to be entered without any concealment or embezzling, that I will not let for Gift or other cause but will well and truly do my office of Justice of the Peace in that behalf. That I will take nothing for my office of Justice of the Peace to be done but such salary or fees as shall be expressly allowed me by Lawful authority and that I will not direct or cause to be directed any warrant by me to be made to the Parties but will direct them to Bailiffs or Constables lawfully appointed or other indifferent persons to do execution thereof.

Sworn in Court by the said
Edward Eardley Harris Repton
this 17th day of September
in the year of
Lord 1838 at past 11 O'clock A.M.

EDWARD E. WOODCOCK,
Joint Magistrate
Balasore

(Sd.) Edward Repton.

Oath of Allegiance—I Edward Eardey Harris Repton do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Sd. Edward Repton.

Sd. Edward Woodcock.

Acting Joint Magistrate Balasore.

William Stephens Dicken Esq., was appointed to be the Civil Assistant Surgeon of Balasore on Rs. 300/- on 3rd January, 1834. From 1822 we find Civil Assistant Surgeons at Balasore, Messrs Mathews, Thomas Cleminshaw, and R. B. Cumberland having been appointed in succession before Mr. Dicken. He was also an unconvenanted Assistant to the Salt Agent. For references to him see vols. 83, 89, 90 A, 101, 112, 114, 128, 131 A, 140 A, 144 and 146.

J. Fitzpatrick was the Revenue Surveyor. For references see vols. 112 and 128.

Alfred Bond was appointed as Master Attendant on the 21st June, 1831, Marine Assistant to the Salt Agent on the 1st September, 1831 and Superintendent of Exports on the 20th July, 1839. Previously he was appointed Superintendent of Cocoons, Mulberry and Embankments at Coomercally from 1826 to 1828. In vol. 116 there is a letter in his handwriting giving a discription of the gale of 1831.

‘Ulūka’ Country

By Jaya Chandra Vidyalankara

In my paper “Raghu’s Line of Conquest along India’s Northern Border” submitted to the Oriental Conference, Patna, as also in an appendix to my *Bhāratabhūmi*, while discussing the geography of Arjuna’s northern conquests, as narrated in the *Mahābhārata Digvijayaparvan*, I suggested that ‘Ulūka’¹ in its text may be misreading for *Kulūta*, the ancient name for modern Kullu.² I had no authority for it except my own identifications of its neighbouring localities, one of which is the territory of *Utsava-Saṅketa gaṇas*, placed there between Ulūka and Kāśmīra. Now *Utsava-Saṅketas* are also mentioned in *Raghuvamśa*, 4, 76, where they are bracketed along with *Kinnaras*. I have identified the country of the latter with modern Kanaur (Rampur-Bashahar) and of the former with Lāhul, and hence my suggestion that *Ulūka* stood for *Kulūta*.³

That was in December, 1930. A year later, I learnt from an esteemed friend at Benares that an old palm-leaf ms. of the *Mahābhārata* had been found in Nepal, and lent to the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. In March 1932 I got an opportunity to go to Nepal, and while there, I paid frequent visits to the splendid library of Śrī 6 Mānyavara Rājaguru Hemarāja Paṇḍitjyū. Let me record here my gratefulness for his kindness and courtesy. His library has a unique collection of printed Sanskrit works on all topics from all parts of the world, of modern works on Indology, and of a large number of most valuable and rare mss. The Rājaguru himself is a living Encyclopaedia of Sanskrit learning. The *Mahābhārata* ms. in question had been found by him, and before he lent it to the Bhandarkar Institute, he had noted down all its *variae*

1 *Sabhāparvan*, XXVIII, v. 5-9, 14. (Kumbhakonam ed.).

2 *Bhāratabhūmi*, p. 312.

3 Wilson also found the reading *Kulūta* (V.P., ii, p. 174).—Ed.

lectiones on a printed copy of the book. He was very kind to place them all at my disposal, and on examining those of the *Digvijayaparvan*, I found to my most agreeable surprise that the palm-leaf ms. invariably had *Kulūta* instead of *Ulūka*.

Mount Viṣṇupada

By Jaya Chandra Vidyālaṅkāra

Viṣṇupada was the name of the mountain on the top of which originally stood the famous Mahrauli Iron Pillar, with one of the most important records of Indian history inscribed on it. Unfortunately it has not yet been located definitely. "It was" according to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, "probably in the Himalayas near or above Hardwar which is reputed as *Viṣṇupadi*."¹ That seems to be the general view of scholars so far. The only argument in favour of it seems to be that as the Ganges flows from the feet of the god Viṣṇu, Mt. *Viṣṇupada* may be somewhere near or above Hardwar.

But I have offered² positive proof to show that it is to be located in the Siwalak or the Solasiṅgi range near the river Beas. My authority is the text of *Rāmāyaṇa*³ describing the route of messengers from Ayodhyā to Rājagṛha the capital of Kekaya country. And my reasons are the following:—

(i) First, it has been placed there along with Mt. *Sudāman*, which latter also occurs in Arjuna's northern conquests referred to above, where it is one of the three places mentioned midway between the southern and northern *Ulūka*, i.e. *Kulūta*.

(ii) Secondly, the *Rāmāyaṇa* text expressly places it in *Vāhika* country, i.e. the Punjab and near the *Vipāśā*.

(iii) Thirdly, the paper of Mr. Jayaswal, just referred to, has supplied me with a fresh clue leading to the same conclusion. Mr. Jayaswal is of opinion that the battle between the Yuechi king and Chandra Gupta II was fought somewhere

1 *Anie*, XVIII, p. 31.

2 *Bhāratabhūmi*, p. 312.

3 ग्रयुसंधेन बाह्वलीकान् (corr. बाह्वीकान्) सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।

विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाकलीन् ॥

Rām. 11, 68, 18-19.

in the hills of the Jullundur Doab.⁴ I endorse this view, and further suggest that the pillar of victory was raised on or above the site of the battle. There was no rhyme or reason in raising it near the lonely Hardwar. The circumstances of the political geography of the period would point to a hill-fort commanding the ferry or ford of the Beas as the most likely scene of the battle. Truly, battle-fields in each country are designed by nature. The ancient highway of north-western India went along the foot of the Himalayas, crossing the rivers at their shallow fords, just as they emerged from the mountains. Apart from the three principal strategic points⁵ commanding that highway, the fords of rivers were and still are the most suitable places for checking the progress of an advancing enemy. It was the same river Vipāśā which stopped the progress of the R̥g-vedic king *Sudās*, whose bard *Vasiṣṭha* had to induce her with his enchanting hymns to "bend down as a nursing mother (for her son), as a maiden to embrace her lover."⁶ Chandra Gupta had to fight his way through—or 'swim across the rivers in battle' (तीर्त्वांसम्...) as his chronicler expresses it. And he 'swam across' them at their 'mouths' (मुखानि), viz., just at the places where they emerged into the plains. We do not know if the Beas in Chandra Gupta's time joined the Sutlej, as it does now and also did in the Vedic age, or if it flowed further and joined the Chenab below Multan as it did in the time of Muhammad-bin-Kasim in 712 A.C. Most probably it did the latter, and if so, it formed a very important strategic line in the middle of the Punjab. Dipālpur on the eastern bank of its lower course was the greatest frontier port throughout the early Muslim period. Whenever a Gangetic power controlled the eastern Punjab, and the north-western Punjab was held by another power, the Beas, if it flowed down to Multan, was

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-9. But there is some confusion there, for Subathu is not in Jullundur Doab, but to the east of it. The Jhelum in p. 29 is evidently a slip for the Sutlej.

5 For a complete discussion of the matter see *Bhāratabhūmi*, pp. 38-62; for the three points esp., p. 46.

6 *R̥g-veda*, III, 10.

bound to be the most important frontier river. Such was the position in the early Muslim period, when the Mongols lorded over the Oxus valley and Afghanistan, and the north-western Punjab south of Kashmir hills was held by Hindu Gakkhars and Khokars whose territory no sovereign of Delhi dared enter from the day they made short work of Muhammad of Ghor down to the time of Babar and Sher Shah. The trans-frontier route throughout that period descended from Ghazni to the Indus, kept to the right bank of that river till it crossed near Ucch, and from Ucch went by way of Multan, Dipālpur and Bhatner to Delhi. It made this circuitous detour on account of the existence of a buffer-state in the n.-w. Punjab, and its course in the s.-w. Punjab was rather easy, as there were no *bārs* (dry barren uplands) in the region when the Beas traversed through what is Bari Doab now. In Chandra Gupta's time there was no diverting factor in the n.-w. Punjab, the Oxus-power itself holding it. The important position of Dipālpur was therefore held by a fort on the upper course of the Beas, and that fort was, in all likelihood, the scene of Chandra Gupta's *coup-de-main*.

The expression तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समते सिन्धोः would suggest that he had to fight his way through all the seven rivers which he crossed; but the most decisive action seems to have been fought at the crossing of the Beas, and hence the pillar of victory was raised there. The rest seems to have been a triumphal march.

In the Rāmāyaṇa śloka विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणाः we hear an echo of the Vedic text तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति,⁷ and it would seem as if the name of the mountain had its origin in a Vedic myth.

The directions given in the Rāmāyaṇa along with the corresponding ones in the Digvijayaparvan seem to be so vivid and clear, and the position of the mountain appears from them to be so conspicuous that I consider its exact location a matter of practical possibility, provided a journey of exploration be undertaken by someone having proper under-

7 *Rg-veda*, I, 22, 20.

standing of ancient geography. A suitable opportunity offering itself, I myself would like to do it.

According to tradition, the Mahrauli iron pillar was brought from its original position in the Himalayas to its present site in Delhi by king Anaṅgapāla of the Tomara clan, the founder of the imperial city. A Tomara dynasty is known to have ruled in Nūrpur and Pathāṅkot i.e., the sub-Himalayan valleys of the Ravi and the Beas, from *cir.* 1050 A.C. which is the accepted date of king Anaṅgapāla.⁸ Probably his kingdom extended from Delhi to Kangra, and the later Nūrpur principality represented what survived of it.

⁸ C. V. Vaidya—*Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, p. 319.

Unity Between the Deity and the Devotee

By Kalipada Mitra

In his interesting *History of India* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal writes: "The belief in the God-in-royalty, Samudra Gupta made the belief of his dynasty and the belief of his country. His devotion to Vishṇu is so great that his personality almost merges in him. . . . The devotee and his god are both described by the same language. This might appear to a non-Hindu reader or to a reader who has not entered into the Hindu mystery of *bhakti* as a blasphemous assumption of God's attributes. But it is not so; there is in the cult of *bhakti* its highest doctrine that there should be unity (*ananyatā*) between the deity and the devotee. The devotee begins to partake of the nature of his deity until he is spiritually fully transformed and finally become one with the deity....."¹. "Their *bhakti* is intense. They think of Vishṇu and they think in Vishṇu. Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II become practically one with God. Any one who has seen the Vishṇu image enshrined by Samudra Gupta at Erān, would be reminded of Samudra Gupta himself and see the king's figure and dress in that status. One who would see the Vishṇu-Varāha at the Chandra Gupta Cave (at Udayagiri) will be reminded of Chandra Gupta II himself rescuing Dhruva-devī."²

That at a particular stage of devotional meditation the devotee conceives himself to be at one with his deity is familiar to Hindus and finds expression in such words as "so'ham" or "Śivo'ham" etc. The same idea has persisted in later Buddhism. In the *Sāadhanamālā* there are numerous passages which point to the identity of the worshipper and the worshipped. "A peculiar feature of Vajrayāna worship lies in its

1 JBORS., XIX, p. 121.

2 Ibid., pp. 119, 120; also JBORS., XVIII, pp. 34, 35.

doctrine of Ahaṃkāra or identification of the Bodhicitta with the deity worshipped. The *Sādhana-mālā* explains this doctrine clearly in several places and the word occurs in almost every *sādhana*. It is explained as 'I am the goddess and the goddess is in me.' After Ahaṃkāra the worshipper should conceive himself as the deity with the same complexion, form and limbs as described in the *Sādhana* and should instead of worshipping any external object worship himself."³ We come across such expressions as: *Yā Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā sā'haṃ yo'haṃ sū Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā; ātmānaṃ kumārārūpeṇa cintayet, tato Bhagavantam nijabījēna sahaika-bhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā, Bhagavatyaṭmako mantri bhāvayed aham eva Bhagavatī,*⁴ etc.

What is really most remarkable is that there should be not only supposed, mistaken, partial, or entire identity between the devotee and the deity but clear expression of this identity in plastic art, and that we should recognise (the human) king Samudra Gupta, and even his dress in the delineation of (the divine) Viṣṇu at Erān and king Chandra Gupta II and queen Dhruvadevī in the images of Viṣṇu-Varāha and Pṛthivī at Udayagiri. It seems that the expression of this identity between the devotee and deity had become a stylistic convention in India. Otherwise it could not have been transmitted outside India as it actually was.

From the beginning of the Christian era Indian influences were beginning to be felt in Further India and Indonesia. "We hear", says Dr. Coomaraswamy,⁵ "of an Indian Brāhmaṇa Kaundinya who probably in the first century A.D. landed in Funan, from a merchant vessel, married a princess who had or received the name of Somā and so became the master of the country. The story is again referred to in a Cham inscription of 650 where the princess is called a Nāginī." It appears that the Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Kaundinya family. He became the founder of the first Indian family in Champa in the

3 *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S. XLI), vol. II, pp. lxxvi-vii.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 318, 142, 143, 258, 294.

5 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 180, 181.

second century A.D., and that his name was Śrī Māra. The oldest inscription of Indo-China found at Vocan written in correct Sanskrit, belonging to the third century A.D., mentions a king of the dynasty of Śrī Māra Kauṇḍinya (*Śrī-Mārarājakaḷa*). On the evidence of the Sanskrit inscription Mr. Jayaswal is satisfied as to the full maintenance of "the connection of the colonies with the Bhāraśiva and Vākāṭaka India and with the revivalism of Sanskrit in the home-land."⁶ From the fourth century A.D. Indian rulers were exercising their sway in Champa, Cambodia, Java and Sumatra. The prevailing religion was Śaivism. "There are also original ancestor cults re-inforced and modified by Indian ideas."⁷ "The Indianesque pre-Khmer (Indo-Khmer of some authors) art of Funan in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, differs radically from the classic Khmer of the ninth to twelfth, chiefly in its greater concentration and more definitely Indian character. Bilingual inscriptions in the South Indian (Pallava) inscription, revealing a knowledge of the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas* and *Epics* appear, the Sanskrit is very correct, the lettering magnificent, fully equal to any thing of the sort to be found in India proper. Buddhist influences seem to have predominated in the fifth, Brahmanical in the sixth and seventh centuries, but neither exclusively."⁸ Alike in architecture and sculpture Indian analogy of the Bhāraśiva, Vākāṭaka and Gupta types is manifest. Mr. Jayaswal regards the Bhumara (Bhūbharā) and Nāchna Kuṭhāra temples to be belonging respectively to the periods of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas. A description of the structure of the temples is given. "Two extremely interesting flat-roofed temples have been found at Bhumara (*vide* Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara in Mem. A.S.I.*, 16, 1924) in Nagodh state and at Nāchna Kuṭhāra (*A.S.I., Western Circle*, 1919, PL. XV-XVII, pp. 53, 60) in Ajaigadh State. The Bhumara Śiva temple consists of a masonry cella (*garbha-grha*) with a flat slab-roof and a carved doorway having representations of river goddesses on the

6 JBORS., XIX, p. 156.

7 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Introduction to Indian Art* (Madras, 1923).

8 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 181.

jambs and a fine bust of Śiva with flying figures on the lintel. The cella contained a Śiva liṅgaṃ of the type of the still finer example existing at Khoh in the same state."⁹ In Champa the shrines not only resemble the Bhāra-śiva but also the Gupta temples. "In other localities in the delta area there are found numerous shrines in brick, one in laterite and a few in stone, of sixth and seventh century date, in a style that may in a general way be spoken of as Gupta. Thus at Hanchi near Sambour, there is an elegant rectangular cell built of slabs of sandstone, the lintel of the porch bearing a four-armed Viṣṇu-Anantaśāyin, the roof flat and likewise of slab-construction; there is a close resemblance to the little shrine on the roof of the Lad Khan temple at Aihole (p. 79 and fig. 148). The Hanchi cella may well have been the *garbha-grha* of a Brahmanical shrine like that of Bhumara."¹⁰

The Bhāra-śivas "whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva on account of their carrying the load of the symbol of Śiva on their shoulders" worshipped the god in his auspicious form. On Plate XI Mr. Jayaswal gives the photograph of three exquisite *Ēka-mukha liṅgaṃs*. The Bhūbharā temple image with the bejewelled crown and necklace is an example of serene gravity that equally befits a king and Yogī Maheśvara, his god. The same remark also applies to the *Ēka-mukha liṅgaṃ* "under tree near the village." Bejewelling the image of the all-renouncing Śiva strengthens the suspicion of its being chiselled after a human model—the king. The middle figure (*Nakti-ki-Talai, Khoh*) with the conventional matted hair and crescent (*Śaśi-mauli*) has a face so intensely human that the sculptor must have the model, and probably that of the king, before him

This example we may expect to have been followed in Champa. Śiva, the patron god of Champa, was sculptured, among other forms, in the form of *mukha liṅgaṃ* also. One such was found in the towers of Po Klaun Garai. M. Aymonier described it: "On this liṅga is sculptured in half-

⁹ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 78; JBORS., vol. XIX, pp. 7, 218.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

hunch a fine head of a male divinity of natural grandeur bearing fine moustaches. This is certainly Śiva."

We read the following passage in the *Indian Colony of Champa* (pp. 136-137) by Mr. Phanindranath Bose: "Mr. Finot, however, remarks that it is more exact to say that it is the founder king of the temple identified with the God Śiva. The Cham sculptor here made a departure from the accepted lines and brought in his own ideas about the physiognomy, head, dress and ornaments of the *mukha liṅga*, these being exactly those which the Champa sculptors invariably gave to Champa kings."

Dr. Coomaraswamy says (pp. 197-98): "The liṅga temple of Po Klaun Garai on the other hand, founded by Śiṃhavarman III contains the original Śiṃhavarman-liṅgeśvara still worshipped by a residue of Chams. It is not clear whether the *mukha-liṅgaṃ* is an icon of Śiva, a Devarāja, or a posthumous portrait of the king."

I am of opinion, however, that the Champa sculptor gave no indication of his independent idea, but was simply following the Indian convention and tradition¹¹ and gave another instance of the influence of Indian art on that of Indo-China. The Bhāra-śiva images of *Ekā-Mukha liṅgaṃ* Śiva bear out my contention, which is corroborated by the humanised images of Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu-Varāha representing Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. The Cham artists, however, did not slavishly imitate, but introduced the necessary local setting by giving the god the dress and ornaments of the Champa king.

Dr. Coomaraswamy says (p. 185) that "there were two cults, the first of which was the deification of royal ancestors identified after death with the deity of their allegiance, under corres-

11 The following passage supports my contention—"If one studies and analyses in detail the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Prajñāpāramitā (from Singasari), every element in the plastic language—the ornaments, the pose, the mudrā, the āsana, the lotus seat and the scroll ornamentations on the aureole at the back are derived from the vocabulary of Indian sculpture. Indeed in the whole repertoire of successful forms in Java there is hardly any motive or element which is not derived from Indian sources."—*QJMS.*, Vol. XVII, p. 189.

ponding posthumous names, their images in the outward form of these same deities were set up by their descendants in memorial temples. The same custom existed in Java, cf. the portrait of king Erlanga as Viṣṇu (fig. 360). In India royal images were set up in temples, but so far as we know always in human form; that temples were sometimes especially erected for this purpose is indicated in Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka*, still more abstract is the other cult, that of the Deva-rāja or King-god, founded by Jayavarman II at Mahendraparvata. . . . The King-god always represented by a *liṅgam* did not appertain to any particular king, but embodied the divine fiery essence incarnate in every king and essential to the welfare of the kingdom."

These two types differ from the Eran and Udayagiri sculptures in that the former are connected with the ancestor cult and the abstract god-in-royalty idea, whereas the latter maintain the distinct individualities of the king. My knowledge of art does not enable me to say much with authority, but fig. 338 (Śiva or king, ninth or tenth century: Boston) seems, in my opinion, to preserve the individuality of a particular king rather than represent a conventionalised royal form.

The god-in-royalty idea is very ancient in this as well as in other countries. The idea of the divine character and origin of the king (e.g., as son or consort of the Mother-Goddess or an independent god) is co-eval with the most ancient tribes and nations we know of and is amply treated in the ancient history of the Near East, and other literature. The following passage from C. Leonard Woolley's *The Excavations at Ur and the Hebrew Records* (p. 37) gives us an idea of a deified king some thousands of years ago: "Under the south east rampart of the Ziggurat platform stood the fortress-like temple of the Moon-Goddess Nin-Gal with its high walls and angle towers. Inside lay two shrines of the goddess, built on different patterns, and between them in a maze of passages there was the little chapel where men worshipped the deified king, Bur-Sin, who had founded the temple nearly four hundred years before." The position of the king as a deity is quite manifest from his association with the Moon-Goddess Nin-Gal

whose consort Nannar, the Moon-God, was the patron deity of Ur.

In India the evolution of Śiva temple and the liṅgam (especially in South India) may have been connected with some form of ancestor cult. "Thus we have sufficient evidence to show that it was not unusual in early times for Śiva temples to be set up as memorials over tombs of important personages."¹² The hero-shrines (and *Veeragals*) dedicated to local chiefs also found in South India are of a like nature. The idea of identifying the king (or hero) with the deity found expression in the *Mukha-liṅgam* and this as early as the first century B.C. to which time it can be traced. The idea of identifying the devotee with his deity even in the former's life time may be a consequent development, and was probably helped by the generally prevailing Hindu idea of union between the devotee and the deity. Whether this actually happened or not I cannot say but this seems to me to be a likely theory.

In other than god-in-royalty way also was the idea of *svārūpya* (same-formness) exemplified in plastic art, e.g. in the *Śiva-guru* images from Java. "He (Agastya) was a special devotee of Śiva, one time a faithful worshipper of Śiva at Benares, whose memory still lives in the Agastyeshwara Śiva in the well-known shrine of Agastya Kuṇḍa still a famous locality in modern Benares; the trident is, therefore, a very necessary insignia, or 'lakṣaṇa' of this great *yogī*. By his devotion to Śiva he seems to have attained *Swārūpya* or 'same-form' as Śiva himself and stands in the majesty of his figure, the very picture of the great Mahā-yogi, the ascetic *par excellence* of the Indian 'purāṇas'."¹³

12 AR., ASI., Southern circle, 1915-16, pp. 34, 35.

13 QJMS., vol. XVII, pp. 169-191,

The Date and Place of Sher Shah's Birth

By Professor Paramatma Saran, M.A.

The question of the date of the birth of the brilliant Afghan ruler Sher Shah has an important bearing on the history of his career and achievements. Elphinstone and the early European historians of the Muslim period of Indian history, perhaps not finding any precise mention of the actual date in the sources accessible to them, safely passed it over. But Prof. K. R. Qanungo, who for the first time made a thorough and critical study of the great Afghan's life, had to assign it some approximate date to serve as a working hypothesis for reconstructing his history. On page 3 of his 'Sher Shah' (Calcutta 1921) he says: 'Farid was born in Fissar Firoza, founded by the good king Firoz Tughlaq. (*Makhzan-i-Afghana*, f. 204b). The exact date of his birth is not given by any historian. Abbas Sarwani (*Elliot*, IV. 308) says that he was born during the life time of Sultan Bahlol, who died in 1488 A.D. The year 1486 A.D. may probably have been the date.....' This hypothetical date has been used by Prof. Qanungo throughout his work in calculating the age of Sher Shah. But his approximation falls short by not less than over a dozen years of the actual date of his birth, which the internal evidence of the text of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* as well as the *Makhzan-i-Afghana* unmistakably suggests. It appears that Prof. Qanungo has fallen into this error owing to his equally wrong assumption that Sher Shah's grandfather Ibrahim came to India during the latter part of Sultan Bahlol Lodi's reign (1451-1488).¹ It is, however, difficult to see how the Professor was led to make this assumption, in the face of the internal evidence of the above mentioned authorities, which clearly shows that Ibrahim Sur came to India in the early and not latter part of Bahlol's reign. I shall first examine this assumption.

¹ *Sher Shah*, p. 2.

In 1551 A.D. the very first year of his enthronement Bahlol Lodi marched towards Multan in order to restore Sheikh Yusuf, the popularly elected governor of that province, who had been driven away by the Langahs. But he had not gone beyond Dipalpur when he heard of the attack of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur upon Delhi. He, therefore, immediately retraced his steps and, on the advice of some of his nobles, issued invitations to his tribesmen in Afghanistan to come and help him at that juncture. In response to his call many Pathan warriors came with their forces and with their help Bahlol successfully reprised the attack of Mahmud. Filled with obligation and gratitude for his kinsmen he conferred lavish presents on them and issued farmans to all his nobles and officers, that every Afghan coming from Roh should be received with great honour and courtesy and given a jagir. 'It was at the time of this bounty of Sultan Bahlol that the grandfather of Sher Shah, by name Ibrahim Khan Sur, with his son Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan from Afghanistan.....'² The *Makhzan* and *Tabaqat* also say that Ibrahim came to India being encouraged by Bahlol's invitation, which of course, was extended within a year of the Sultan's accession.³ It is clear from this that Ibrahim must

2 Elliot. IV, 308; *Abbās*, p. 7.

3 Dorn. p. 80. repeats the story of the coming of Afghan tribes into India on the invitation of Bahlol and of his granting them jagirs, appointments etc., which enkindled a desire in other Afghans to come to India; and then says:—

"At the same time, Mian Ibrahim the grandfather of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan....."

The *Tabaqat* p. 86, has these words:

وقتیکہ سلطان بہلول بہ حکومت رسید از ولایت روه کہ
مسکن افغانہ است افغان بسیار طلب داشت در آن
ایام پدر حسن سور کہ ابراہیم نام داشت بہندرسدان آمد *

Erskine, p. iii would seem clearly to understand that Ibrahim came to India in the early part of Bahlol's reign, and not in the latter part. *Ferishtā*, who copies *Nizām Uddin* almost *verbatim* in the bulk of his

have arrived in India in the earlier half and not in the latter half of Bahlol's reign. After mentioning his arrival, Abbas Sarwani's narrative of the subsequent career of Ibrahim Khan and his family comprises these significant incidents:—⁴

(1) On their arrival Ibrahim and his son Hasan both enter into the service of Muhabbat Khan Sur, Daud Sahu Khail, jagirdars of the parganas of Haryana and Bahkala, etc. in the Punjab, and settle in the pargana of Bajwara.

(2) Sher Shah is born and christened Farid.

(3) After lapse of some time, Ibrahim Khan leaves Muhabbat Khan's service and enters that of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani, of Hissar-Firoza.

(4) Jamal Khan bestows on him the pargana of Narnaul.

(5) Hasan, father of Farid, enters the service of Masnad-i-Ali, Umar Khan Sarwani Kalkapur, entitled Khan-i-Azam, who held jagir in the sarkars of Sarhind, Bhatnur, Shahbad and Paelpur.

(6) Hasan gets as jagir from Umar Khan several villages in the pargana of Shahabad.

(7) The young Farid is sufficiently grown up by now to be able to express a desire to enter the service of Masnad-i-Ali, Umar Khan, and requests his father to introduce him to the Khan, Hasan declines owing to Farid's tender age, but on

narrative, does not indicate the time of Ibrahim's advent. Nor do the *Akbar Nama*, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* or *Badaoni* throw any light on it.

4 Elliot, IV, 308-10; Abbas., p. 7-11; Dorn., p. 80 et seq.

Erskine (II. p. iii et seq.) gives a different version of the early life of Ibrahim and Hasan in Hindustan, based partly on the *Akbar Nama* and partly on the *Khulasat* of Sujan Rai (Singh?), the latter having been drawn upon, so far as the story of the dream of Farid's mother etc. goes. He says that Hasan was born in Hissar, which is highly improbable. But Ibrahim's early residence at Shamla, (*Akbar Nama*) or Nimla might have been Shamli, a tahsil about 55 miles north of Delhi, in the modern district of Muzaffarnagar, as suggested by Chalmers, (vide *Akbar Nama*, Tr. Bev. vol. I, ch. XXV, p. 327) and not in Agra, because Shamli might have been in the district of Hissar Firoza then.

the persuasion of his mother takes him to the Masnad-i-Ali. The latter being pleased with the smart little boy bestows on him a small jagir.

(8) Several years after this, Farid's grandfather Ibrahim Khan dies at Narnaul. Hasan goes to Umar Khan, the Masnad-i-Ali, who happened to be at that time with the army of Sultan Bahlol, to beg leave of him to go to Narnaul to condole with his family. Umar Khan shows great generosity by not only releasing him from his service so as to enable him to receive the larger jagir of his father, but also by commending him to the favour of Jamal Khan for conferment of further jagirs on him.

(9) Some time after this, Sultan Bahlol also dies (July 1489 A.D.⁵; calculated according to Dorn's account, it will correspond to Ziqada 25, 893 A.H. or Friday October 31, 1488)⁶ and is succeeded by Sikandar, who recovers Jaunpur from his recalcitrant brother Baibak (Barbak) and confers the suba upon Jalal Khan in 1493 A.D.

(10) Jamal Khan takes Hasan with him and gives him in jagir the parganas of Sahsaram, Hajipur and Tanda, to maintain five hundred horse.

(11) Sher Shah becomes dissatisfied with his father's behaviour and goes away to Jaunpur.

In the above analysis the mention of Farid's birth soon after the arrival of Ibrahim is significant enough to indicate that Farid could not have been only about two years old at the time of the death of Sultan Bahlol, for the simple reason that in the interval between the former's birth and the latter's death a series of noteworthy incidents, admittedly spread over a much longer period, occurred. First of all after Farid's birth some time elapses before the family shifts to Narnaul. Then, after some time, when Farid goes to the Masnad-i-Ali to request for service under him, though yet a little boy, he must, nevertheless, have been anywhere between eight and twelve years old. Then, several years after this incident again, occurs the death of Ibrahim Khan, his grandfather, followed

5 *CHI.*, III, p. 235.

6 *Dorn.*, p. 54.

some time hereafter by that of Sultan Bahlol (Oct. 1488 A.D.). Thus it would be clear that by this time Farid must have been a grown up boy of not less than 12 to 15 years, and consequently about another five years older at the time when Barbak was expelled and the suba of Jaunpur conferred on Jamal Khan, towards the beginning of 1493.⁷

The above conclusion is corroborated by the actual date of the birth of Sher Shah having been found to be definitely stated in two works, viz. (i) *Āsār-as-Sanādīd*, by Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan, and (ii) a Persian manuscript compiled in 1839 A.D. entitled *Naqshā-i-Jām-i-Jam* which I recently discovered in an old local library.⁸

There is a uniform difference of one year in the dates given in these two works, in the case of Sher Shah's birth and all subsequent incidents of his life. Those in the *Naqshā-i-Jām-i-Jam* have been carried forward throughout by one year, the months, days etc. all being otherwise exactly the same in both. Evidently the author by oversight has made an error of one year in the date of Farid's birth, making it Rajab

7 CHI., III, pp. 236-238 and *Tabaqat*, p. 317.

8 (i) *Āsār-as-Sanādīd*, third edition (Urdu) published by Nami Press Cawnpore, 1904 (page 36, chap. 1). This book was first composed by Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan in 1846 A.D. Its main theme is an account of the Muslim monuments of Delhi. A second and enlarged edition was published by the author himself in 1847. The third edition was compiled from the materials of both the former editions by Mohammad Rahmatullah Rād, and published in 1904. The book also contains some brief chapters on allied topics among which there is a chart of the rulers of Delhi right from the age of Mahābhārat down to Queen Victoria, including details of their birth, coronation, death etc.

(ii) *Naqshā-i-Jām-i-Jam* was compiled in the reign of Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi, in 1839, from a large number of old histories of which the author gives a list. The body of this work consists of a chart containing many more details than the former one and including a brief introduction as well as conclusion. Considering the numerous details given in it, which I have found on verification to be mostly correct, it seems that the author has devoted great pains and care over the preparation of the work. The date of Sher Shah's birth is given in chart 5, Serial No. 16.

878 A.H., instead of Rajab 877 A.H. (December 1472 A.D.). I have accepted 1472 A.D. as correct because we know the exact date of Sher Shah's death (12th Rabi-ul-Awwal 952 A.H. = 25th May 1545 A.D.), as also his age at the time of death which according to both the above authorities is 74 (lunar) years, 8 months and a few days, nearly = $72\frac{1}{2}$ solar years. Deducting this from May 25, 1545 A.D. we get December 1472. Thus Farid was just 20 years when his father was put in charge of the Jagir of Sahsaram etc., and not about seven years only which he would be according to Qanungo's hypothetical date.

This initial error has led him to build up a theory about the early life of Sher Shah, which besides being self-contradictory in itself, finds no warrant in *Abbas Sarwani* or any other authority. The story of the neglect and want of kindness and love shown by Hasan towards Farid's mother is mentioned by Abbas, *after and not before Hasan's transfer to Sahsaram*. That the mind of Abbas is clear about this sequence of events and he has not mentioned them merely in confusion without being conscious of their chronological order, is evidenced by following up his narrative a little further down. After noticing Hasan's indifference towards Farid's mother and its cause, he continues: 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farid. When he was assigned jagirs, Mian Hasan showed little partiality to Farid, and did not give him a jagir which contented him. Farid Khan being annoyed with his father went to Jamal Khan at Jaunpur'.⁹ This leaves no room for any ambiguity or doubt

9 *Elliot*, IV, p. 310-'11. Prof. Qanungo's manuscript has a different and in all likelihood the more correct reading of the two. It is thus translated by him: "At the time of distributing the jagir, he showed little favour to Farid's mother and did not give her such jagir as she wished....." (Page 5). In a footnote on the same page, he rightly explains that the reading of his manuscript is more probable. "Farid on his own account had no claim to a share of jagir; but his mother was entitled to madad-i-maash for the support of herself and her sons. *It was a custom in those days to allot a certain portion of jagir for the maintenance of different members of a fief-holder's family. Farid resented his father's injustice towards his mother: so he ran away from his

as to whether Abbas is relating these incidents with reference to the period prior to his coming over to Sahsaram or after it. He does not even indirectly suggest any rift between Hasan and Farid's mother during the pre-Sahsaram period. On the contrary we know that almost up to the time of the death of Hasan's father, his relations with Farid's mother were positively good and he had a great affection and regard both for her and her children. We have seen how, when young Farid expressed to his father his desire to be introduced to the Masnad-i-Ali, and the latter declined to comply, he appealed to his mother, whereon she said to her husband: 'Since he desires to see the Masnad-i-Ali take him with you.....perhaps he may be pleased at the request of so a young a boy, and give him something.' 'Hasan Khan,' continues Abbas, 'to please Farid and his mother took him with him before Masnad-i-Ali.'¹⁰ So hitherto Hasan had a great regard and affection for Farid and his mother.

To examine now Prof. Qanungo's account of this part of the story. He has reversed the sequence of events and assumed without any basis that the account of *Abbas* and the *Makhzan* relating to Farid and his mother having fallen under the displeasure of Hasan, refers to the pre-Sahsaram period. The above mentioned incident in which Hasan displayed such regard and concern for the pleasure of Farid and his mother has escaped his notice. He fails, moreover, to realise inhospitable roof." The reading in my ms. also tallies with Qanungo's. It has :

وقت جاگیر دادن میان حسن بمادر فرید کم عذایت ظاهر

ساخت رجاگیر خاطر خواه نه دان *

¹⁰ Elliot, IV, 309; *Abbas*, p. 8-9, has these words :

مادر فرید بمیان حسن گفت چون خاطر ار میخواست که

مسند عالی به بپند همراہ به برد عرض بکن شاید مسند عالی

این خورن سال خوش کند ر چیز عذایت نماید - میان

بواسطہ خاطر فرید و مادر ار فرید را در خدمت عالی برر *

that by suggesting this sequence of events he makes himself responsible for a self-contradiction between his hypothesis regarding the age of Farid and his assumption regarding his and his mother's ill-treatment by Hasan. For, according to his hypothesis, Farid should have been only about seven years old and his brother Nizam still younger at the time of their leaving Narnaul. This was too tender an age of the boys for their father to have begun quarrelling with them. Even his suggestion that 'Farid's mother was forsaken by Hasan possibly owing to the loss of her physical charms'¹¹ would appear to be far-fetched in view of this hypothesis, since Farid was her eldest child and she could not have lost her physical charms so early in life as that. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how a scholar reconstructing Sher Shah's early life on the basis mainly of *Abbas* and *Makhzan*, could have arrived at such conclusions as, for instance, his hypothesis *re.* Farid's date of birth. Far more curious than this is Prof. Qanungo's comparison of the life and character of Farid's mother with that of the saintly Jija Bai, Shivaji's mother, a comparison as baseless as it is quixotic and irrelevant. For one thing, Farid's mother was never sent away to live apart from her husband like Jija Bai. Secondly the indifference of Hasan towards Farid and his mother began after their transfer to Sahsaram and not before as Qanungo baselessly assumes. (See *Sher Shah*, p. 5.). Thirdly we do not know whether Farid's mother was a 'saintly' lady or one of the common run. There is no warrant for such a statement. We know, however, that unlike Jija Bai, about whose religiosity and the great influence that she wielded on the making of her son's character we have definite information, Farid's mother was possessed of no extraordinary qualities and did not wield any conspicuous influence on her son's character. But we find our author setting out on his narrative (See page 3 and 4) with a zeal which reminds one of bardic ecstasy which naturally leads him astray from a scientific course into 'idle dreams and fancies. 'condemned by himself as having

11 *Sher Shah*, p. 4.

no place in a modern history' (*Sher Shah*, p. 434.). From the manner in which he begins his account, it would appear as if Prof. Qanungo conceived, in anticipation, a slightly romantic figure of his hero which compelled him consequently to so interpret facts as to bear out his imaginary thesis.

Thus the above discussion leads us to the following conclusions :—

(1) The hypothetical date (1486) of the birth of Sher Shah assumed by Prof. Qanungo, is totally incorrect, the real date being Rajab 877 A.H.=December 1472 A.D. as indicated by *Abbas'* account and confirmed by other authorities.

(2) The theory that Hasan had ill-treated Farid and Nizam and their mother during the Narnaul period from their very infancy is groundless and is moreover contradicted by the internal evidence of *Abbas'* narrative. Though it is possible that in the last days of their stay, i.e., after the death of Ibrahim, when Farid and his brother were enough grown up, 'Hasan's affection and regard for them and their mother might have cooled down. But this can be nothing more than a mere surmise.

(3) At the time of their transfer to Sahsaram Farid was not a stripling of seven but a mature young man of full 20 years and consequently at the time of his attainment of the kingdom of Delhi in 1540 A.D. (A.H. 947) he had reached the advanced age of close upon sixty-eight years. It is only in view of this that the following lament of Sher Shah referred to by *Nur-ul-Haq*,¹² becomes intelligible viz, 'It is said that once, when looking in a mirror, he exclaimed "Alas! that I have attained the empire only when I have reached old age, and when the time for evening prayer has arrived. Had it been otherwise the world would have seen what I would have accomplished." Even an ordinary man of fifty or thereabouts which Sher Shah would have been at this time according to the assumption of Prof. Qanungo, - - - in an age when the state of general health and physique of the people was infinitely better and their expectancy of life considerably higher than

now, - - - could not be expected to grow so prematurely pessimistic, much less one so energetic, so stout and so ambitious and optimistic as Sher Shah otherwise was.

The above conclusions necessitate a re-examination of the question of the time of Farid's first flight to Jaunpur. For the sake of maintaining a sort of consistency with his hypothesis Prof. Qanungo has again been driven to another assumption, highly improbable at best. He allows a period of about eight years, after Hasan's coming to Sahsaram, for the rift between father and son to come to a head resulting eventually in the latter's abandonment of Sahsaram. He puts this incident in 1501 A.D. But the cause which drove Farid to this extreme step was, as has been rightly explained by Prof. Qanungo,¹³ his grievance against Hasan's not giving to his mother her due share of jagir. Now, it seems extremely unreasonable to suppose that Hasan could have delayed allotment of madad-i-maash jagirs to such members of his family as were entitled to them, by almost a decade after his assumption of his new charge. In all likelihood he must needs have made the allotments soon after his arrival. Hence the conclusion would seem to be irresistible that the rift came within about a year of their arrival and consequently Farid came over to Jaunpur by the end of 1494 A.D. Nor in accepting this date are we faced with the difficulty of the age of Farid being too low at the time, with which Prof. Qanungo was naturally faced owing to his hypothetical date. Thus it precludes the necessity which compelled him arbitrarily to stretch forward the date of Farid's flight to Jaunpur, by nearly a decade.

The ascertainment of these dates in the early life of Farid helps us in clearing up certain other dates in his subsequent career wherein Prof. Qanungo has again been forced to make unwarranted assumptions. The most significant of his assumptions is about the length of Farid's stay at Jaunpur. The facts of the case are that when Mian Hasan came to know that Farid had gone to Jaunpur he wrote to Jamal Khan, that Farid

13 *Sher Shah*, p. 5 fn.

having been displeased with him for nothing, had gone to his auspicious presence, and that he should kindly send him back as it was his wish to instruct him in religious and polite learning and in court etiquette. On Jamal Khan's asking Farid to return to Sahsaram he firmly refused to do so and said, "If my father wants me back to instruct me in learning, Jaunpur is certainly a better place than Sahsaram; I will study here."¹⁴ Jamal Khan made no further objection. Farid then employed himself in studying Arabic. He also studied thoroughly the *Kafia* with the commentary of Qazi Shahhab Uddin, and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar Nama* the *Gulistan* and *Bostan* and was reading the works of the philosophers. During his stay at Jaunpur he made such an impression on his kinsmen by his learning, talent and promising qualities that when after some years Mian Hasan came to pay his homage to Jamal Khan;¹⁵ they remonstrated with him severely for having banished such a promising and excellent youth as Farid, only for the sake of a slave girl. Mian Hasan realised his mistake and was highly pleased with Farid who had earned such a name, and agreed to entrust him with the charge of his parganas.

Now while Abbas says that Hasan came to Jaunpur 'after some years.'¹⁶ Nizam Uddin, Ferishta and Qanungo's manuscript of the *Makhzan*, all say 'after two or three years.' This period has been rejected by Qanungo as being 'opposed to

¹⁴ The above account is according to the manuscript used by Prof. Qanungo. But Elliot has a slightly different version. He says that Hasan requested Jamal Khan to keep Farid with him, in case he refused to return home, as he (Hasan) wanted him to be instructed in religious and polite learning (Vide Elliot, IV. 311). Here my manuscript tallies with Elliot; it has on p. 12:

بملازمت خون نگه داره که من میخوام که ار را تعلیم
علوم دینی و آداب خدمت ملوک آموزم *

¹⁵ Elliot, vol. IV, p. 311; Prof. Qanungo's manuscript, p. 18, (as quoted in his book on page 7). Abbas, p. 12.

¹⁶ It is the habit of Abbas to say 'after some years' very frequently, instead of giving definite dates,

reason and probability', because Farid during this period had not only made extensive study but also acquired first hand knowledge of worldly affairs for which Prof. Qanungo thinks the period of two or three years to be too short. But it seems to be too audacious to reject summarily so definite a statement of fact in the absence of any positive evidence in our possession to show that either the particular statement in question is totally wrong, or that the three historians concerned viz. Nizam Uddin, Ferishta and Niamat Ullah (the author of the *Makhzan*) are generally in the habit of indulging in such mis-statements. On the contrary a careful consideration of the circumstances will amply bear out the correctness of their statement. As has been shown above Farid was about full twenty years old when he came to Jaunpur and he was by this time evidently quite well up in Persian literature and secular learning. The fact of his father showing his anxiety to instruct Farid in religious learning and court etiquette, together with the statement of Abbas and other historians that at Jaunpur he employed him self in learning Arabic, is highly significant. It shows that he had not till then had an opportunity of either learning Arabic and the religious books or of court manners, both of which were regarded as essential qualifications for a nobleman of that age.¹⁷ It would be unreasonable to suppose that Farid's literary attainments were very meagre when he came to Jaunpur. Nor is it too much for a mature young man of twenty years, so keen, intelligent and observant as Farid was,

17 Nizamuddin and Ferishta leave no room for ambiguity on the point. They say :

حسن بخد مت جمال خان نوشت کہ فرید را تسلی کردہ
پیش من فرستید کہ میخوام چیزے بخواند و تہذیب اخلاق نماید

which means :—Hasan wrote to Jamal Khan requesting him to pacify Farid and send him to him so that he may be able to complete his education and training in social etiquette.—(See *Tabaqat*, II, p. 86. *Ferishta*, p. 220; also *Ferishta*, Urdu Tr. pub. by Osmania University, vol. II, p. 251).

and one who had already seen something of the administrative conditions obtaining in his father's jagir, to have either mastered Arabic grammar and made an extensive study of other Persian or Arabic literature or to have observed carefully the administrative conditions prevailing at the time in the space of two or three years. In fact an uncommon quickness of perception and observation of human affairs and an equally good faculty of quick decision and despatch in organisation, seem to have been the supreme qualities of Sher Shah, which he never failed to evince as we may notice in all his subsequent activities. Hence it is not at all necessary to assume that he should have stayed at Jaunpur for a period of ten years, as Qanungo does. Lastly the 'some years' of Abbas would more reasonably imply two or three years than ten, and the statements of Nizamuddin and other historians are apparently quite correct. There is a further evidence of this in *Abbas*. At the time when Hasan came to Jaunpur his relatives remonstrated with him on his unjust treatment to Farid and said "As you are generally in Jaunpur in attendance on Jamal Khan, it is advisable you should entrust the administration of your two parganas to Farid."¹⁸ Would it not be 'opposed to all reason and probability' to assume, in the face of these words, that Hasan did not come to pay homage to his master for 10 years?

Thus it should have been about the year 1497 or 1498 at the latest and not in 1511, as Qanungo assumes, that Farid, 'armed with the necessary powers; started for the headquarters of his father's jagir in order to take charge of its administration. He was of course about 25 years of age at this time according to my calculation. He should have been

18 Elliot, IV. 312; *Abbas*, p. 13 has :

حسن گفتہ عزیزان قبول کن و گفت کہ دلا سائے او کردہ
بیارزند آنچه خواهد گفت مرا قبول است - عزیزان گفتند کہ
تو اکثر اوقات در جوناپور بخدمت جمال خان می باشی - مناسب
دولت آنست کہ حکومت پرگنہ بفرید بدهی *

of the same age in 1511 A.D. too when, according to Qanungo's assumption, he returned to Jaunpur, as he has supposed his age to be fourteen years short of the actual.

The place of Sher Shah's birth is also far from being definitely known and calls for a brief notice. Like the date of Farid's birth there is no definite mention of the place of his birth in any of the extant authorities. *Abbas* and *Makhzan* are the only two, however, which give some hint on the point. All others having omitted any mention of the early life of both Hasan and Farid. Both *Abbas* and *Makhzan* distinctly place Farid's birth during the period of his grandfather's stay in the pargana of Bajwara or Bejoura and before his translation to Narnaul.¹⁹ This would imply that he was born in the pargana of Bajwarā. Moreover even after leaving Bajwarā Ibrahim did not settle in Hissar Firoza, but in Narnaul. So there is no evidence to show that Farid was born in Hissar. If *Abbas* is to be believed, Farid should have been born in the Pargana of Bajwarā, somewhere.

One more point may be referred to in passing. Prof. Qanungo assumes the failure of Ibrahim in his business of horse dealing as the cause of his movement into Hindustan. But the texts nowhere speak of his failure or otherwise in his trade. They only indicate that the invitation extended by Bahlol and the liberal gifts he made to his tribesmen encouraged many Afghans to come down to India, Ibrahim being one of them. And it is in nowise unreasonable to suppose that the prospect of a much more honourable and lucrative job should have proved a sufficiently strong inducement for these people to migrate.

¹⁹ *Elliot*, IV, 308; *Abbas*, p. 7; *Dorn*, p. 81. Prof. Qanungo, however, (*Sher Shah*, p. 3) places his birth in Hissar Firoza on the authority of his manuscript of *Makhzan*, f. 204 b, without quoting the actual words of that book or even a literal translation thereof. In case his Ms. does contain such a definite reference as to the place of Farid's birth—which is very doubtful—it must be materially different from the copy used by *Dorn*. In any case the version given in *Dorn's* copy is decidedly more acceptable tallying as it does with *Abbas* who is the original source.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abbās.....Abbās Sarwāni's *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shahi* (or *Tuhfā-i-Akbar Shāhi*) MS. (in my collection)
(Copied from Dr. R. P. Tripathi's MS.).
- Makhzan.....*Makhzan-i-Afghāna* of Niāmat Ullāh.
- Ṭabaqāt.....*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Nizāmuddin Ahmad
(Bib. Ind. Publication).
- Ferishtā.....Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah,
Ferishtā's '*Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā*,' (Published by
Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow).
- Elliot.....Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*.
- Dorn.....Dorns' *Trans. of the Makhzan*.
- Sher Shāh.....By K. R. Qanungo. (Calcutta, 1921).
- Erskine.....Erskines' *History of India*, vol. II.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
Society's office on Sunday, December 17th,
1933.**

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President (in the chair).

Dr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

The Honorary Treasurer wrote regretting that through illness he was unable to attend.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on September 9th, 1933.

2. Passed the accounts for the months September to November, 1933.

Resolved that Rs. 2,000, be placed on fixed deposit for six months with the Allahabad Bank.

3. Elected the following gentlemen as members of the Society :—

1. The Rev. Dr. W. C. Urquhart, Calcutta.

2. Mr. Radha Raman Tandan, Patna.

3. Mr. Rambahadur Sarma, Patna.

4. Mr. H. L. Jain, Amraoti.

5. Mr. B. S. Brahmacharin, Patna.

4. Resolved that the School of Oriental Studies, London Institute, be placed on the Society's exchange list.

Resolved further that the Council regrets its inability to place the *Calcutta Review* and *Saradasrama Samstha*, Yeotmal, on its exchange list.

Resolved further that free copies of the Society's Journal cannot be supplied to the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

5. Passed the following bills for payment:—

Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta:—

Rs. As. P.

- | | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| 1. Bill No. 4932, dated the 23rd September, 1933 for ... | 67 | 8 | 0 |
| 2. Bill No. 4970, dated the 25th October, 1933 for ... | 593 | 14 | 0 |
| 3. Bill No. 4971, dated the 25th October, 1933 for ... | 68 | 4 | 0 |

Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad:—

Rs. As. P.

- | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|
| 1. Bill No. 254, dated the 2nd December, 1933 for ... | 173 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. Bill No. 145, dated the 2nd December, 1933 for ... | 1 | 8 | 0 |

6. Read Mr. Oldham's letter dated November 29th, 1933.

Resolved that the renewed offer of the blocks of the *Indian Antiquary* be gratefully accepted.

7. Read a letter, dated December 6th, 1933, from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, inviting the Society to send a representative to its Anniversary Celebrations.

Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be nominated as the Society's representative.

8. Read a letter, dated December 1st, 1933, from the Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., representative of the Society at the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences.

Resolved that Father Heras's account of the Congress be printed in the Society's Journal.

9. Resolved that subject to His Excellency the President's approval, Saturday March 24th, be chosen for the date of the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

10. Read a letter, dated December 6th, 1933, from the Patna Publishing and Agency Co. Ltd., asking to be given the printing of the Society's Journal.

Resolved that Company be requested to submit samples of its printing and to quote its prices.

J. L. Hill.

20-12-1933,

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held in the
Society's office on Sunday, March 18th, 1934**

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.

Raj Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 17th December, 1933.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for December, 1933 and January and February, 1934.

Read a letter from the Honorary Treasurer, dated March 16th, 1934.

3. Read a letter, dated February 14th, 1934 from the Assistant Librarian, Indian Institute Library, Oxford, asking that the Society's Journal should be supplied to the Institute Library.

Resolved that since this Library is now a department of the Bodleian Library the Society should comply.

4. Elected :

Major M. L. Bhargava, I.M.S., and
Mr. Ibrahim Walimohammad Lakhani, Rajkot,
ordinary Members of the Society.

5. Elected :

Mahā Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, and
Professor C. R. Lanman,
honorary Members of the Society.

6. Placed the Archæological Department, Hyderabad, Deccan on the Society's Exchange list.

Considered the Journal of the Annamalai University.

Resolved that the Council regrets that no exchange is possible.

7. Read and recorded a telegram from the Asiatic Society of Bengal expressing thanks for the Society's good wishes.

8. Read and recorded a letter from the Karnatic Historical Research Society expressing the Society's sympathy in connection with the damage caused by the earthquake of January 15th, 1934.

9. Considered the arrangements for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that the following be elected Office-bearers.

Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal should move that the following be elected Office-bearers for the year 1934-35.

President: His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President: The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary: Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint-Secretary: Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer:—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian:—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board:—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

J. L. Hill,

Honorary General Secretary,

20-3-1934.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 22nd March, 1934, in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, the Vice-President of the Society, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S. presiding.

I. On the motion of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1934-35.

President

His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer

Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Editor.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1933-34, which was taken as read.

3. The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the year.

4. Dr. Stella Kramrisch of the Calcutta University delivered a very interesting lantern lecture on the subject :—

“Mediæval Indian Sculpture.”

5. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal then proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

6. Mr. D. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. Hill.

28th March, 1934.

Honorary General Secretary.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Annual Report for 1933-34.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1933, was 164. This represents a decrease of four from the corresponding figure at the end of 1932, the Society losing three of its ordinary members by death and seven by resignation, and the Journal one of its subscribers, while seven new members were enrolled. With the 11 honorary and the 16 life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 191. Raj Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan was elected a Vice-Patron of the Society.

II. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 23rd March, 1933, in the Patna University Library Hall, His Excellency Sir James Sifton, President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a lecture on "The Mithra Cult" delivered by Professor Poure-Davoud.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 19th March, 30th July, 9th September and 17th December, 1933.

III. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XIX (Parts 1-2 and 3 and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 419 pages, 20 plates and 2 maps. Part 1 of Volume XX is in the press. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1933.

The Society has also undertaken the work of editing and printing Francis Buchanan's *Reports on Shahabad and Bhagalpur* as well as his *Account of the Districts of Bihar and*

of the City of Patna. The Society has been greatly assisted in both these publications. His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa has granted Rs. 1,000 towards the printing of the "Account of the Districts of Bihar and of the City of Patna," which the Vice-President has undertaken to edit; and Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan has most generously consented to print the Shahabad and Bhagalpur Reports free of charge at the Patna Law Press. Without these acts of patronage the Society could not have undertaken the publications. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, assisted by Messrs. K. K. Dutt and J. N. Sarkar, is superintending the editing of the two Reports.

The School of Oriental Studies, London, has been put on our Journal's Exchange list.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 173 books (224 volumes), of which 6 were Sanskrit, 3 Pāli, and 1 Oriya works, were added to the Library. Of this total 54 were presented, while 108 were obtained by exchange and 12 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1933, the Library contained 6,350 volumes as compared with 6,126 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 609-2 was spent on books and almirahs during the financial year up to February 1934.

Mahā-Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana has most generously made a conditional gift of 932 bundles of Tibetan manuscripts. For the storage of this valuable collection a new almirah in the Secretary's room has been made. The cost of the almirah, Rs. 690/-; and the transit charges of the manuscripts, Rs. 324-13, have been met from the Mayurbhanj Fund.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 990 manuscripts from March, 1933 to February, 1934. He was on privilege leave from 27th November to 11th December, 1933. From 21st April to 11th

May, 1933, he was employed at Headquarters to help the Editor in connection with the Kandaha Inscription of King Narasimhadeva of Mithila. Owing to the disturbances caused by the earthquake in North Bihar, the Pandit was recalled to Patna in the first week of March, 1934, to help in arranging the manuscripts and make them ready for the press.

VI. ACCOUNTS.

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

J. L. HILL.

Honorary General Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1933 to February, 1934.

A. The actuals for 1932-33 showed a closing balance of Rs. 2,860-10-3 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 4,904-10-10 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 7,765-5-1 at the end of 1932-33.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1934 the current account closing balance was Rs. 3,912-0-5. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit viz., Rs. 2,594-10-9 which gives a total of Rs. 6,506-11-2.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1934 amounted to Rs. 1,129-3-7, up to the 28th February, 1933, the realised amount was Rs. 1,800-4-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,600.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 203-0-4 up to the end of February, 1934. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 691-9-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 133-12-11 up to February, 1934.

S. BAHADUR,

Honorary Treasurer.

10th March, 1934

Actuals up to February 28, 1934.

INCOME.

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	A	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscriptions ...	1,129	3	7	1,600	0	0
Sale of Journal ...	193	0	11	800	0	0
Miscellaneous (a) ...	2,069	11	0	...		
Postage Recovered ...	11	0	0	10	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of ...						
<i>Mithila Manuscripts</i>	10	0	0			
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report ...	...			...
Government grant ...	5,633	0	0	4,633	0	0
Hathwa Fund ...	1,725	12	0	2,717	7	0
Darbhangra Fund ...	717	15	0	3,640	3	10
Mayurbhanja Fund ...	...			1,372	12	1½
Opening Balance ...	2,860	10	3	1,144	14	1½
Grand Total ...	14,350	4	9	15,918	5	1

(a) This includes Rs. 2,000 received from Allahabad Bank (Fixed Deposit).

10th March, 1934

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28, 1934.

EXPENDITURE.

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment ...	1,255	8	0	1,259	0	0
Mithila Pandit ...	1,360	10	7	1,405	0	0
Telephone ...	168	12	0	169	0	0
Printing Charges ...	4,152	14	3	3,400	0	0
Postage ...	203	12	0	300	0	0
Stationery ...	41	2	0	60	0	0
Library ...	350	0	0	350	0	0
Electrical Charges ...	73	12	0	125	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund ...	3	0	0	2,717	7	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund ...	...	...	...	2,040	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanja Fund ...	609	2	0	739	12	1½
Furniture ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous (a) ...	2,219	11	6	350	0	0
Total	10,438	4	4	12,915	3	1½
Closing Balance (b)	3,912	0	5	3,003	1	11½
Grand Total ...	14,350	4	9	15,918	5	1

(a) This includes Rs. 2,000 0 0 sent to Allahabad Bank in fixed Deposit.

10th March, 1934

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

**Transliteration of the Devanāgarī Alphabet adopted
in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society from 1925.**

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or ṛī	ब	b
ल	l	भ	bh
ळ	l̥	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	' (Anusvāra)	ṁ
च	ch	ı (Anunāsika)	ṁ
छ	chh	: (Visarga)	ḥ
ज	j	× (Jihvāmūliya)	ḥ
झ	jh) (Upadhmanīya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ		
ट	ṭ	(Avagraha)	'
ठ	ṭh	(Udātta)	—
ड	ḍ	(Svarita)	˘
ढ	ḍh	s (Anudātta)	,
ण	ṇ		



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[PART II.]

Leading Articles

Yajñopavīta or "The Sacred Thread"

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

Yajñopavīta is at present understood as the Sacred Thread that is to be worn by the twice-born classes from the time of the Upanayana ceremony onwards. The popular belief is that the Upanayana ceremony is primarily intended for investing the boy with this mysterious thread and the Śrāvaṇī ritual for the purpose of renewing it annually. Both these conceptions are however wrong, as will be clear from the history of Yajñopavīta.

Later writers explain Yajñopavīta thread as symbolical of the Guṇamayī Māyā as it was visualised by the Creator at the time of creation,¹ but its original significance was entirely different. Grammatically, Yajñopavīta is an adjective and refers to something that is worn at the time of the sacrifice.

1

सिद्धद्वारेक एवायं समासीनः शिवः स्वयम् ।

दृष्ट्वा गुणमयीं मायां स्वरूपासिवाकरोत् ॥

Aśvalāyana quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*,

Saṃskāraprakāśa, p. 419.

Hindu notion of decency required that the upper part of the body should be properly covered when one was engaged in sacred functions like sacrifices, charity or *svādhyāya*.² Yajñopavita denoted the upper garment when it was worn in the proper manner prescribed for sacred occasions. The *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* is explicit on the point; it says that Yajñopavita means wearing the garment in a particular manner; when the garment is passed under the right and over the left shoulder, it becomes Yajñopavita according to the authority of Brāhmaṇa works.³ The same garment was called Prāchināvita when it was worn exactly in the reverse way and Nivita when it was allowed to hang like a garland.

The upper garment that was thus used was normally a piece of cloth. But in pre-historic times when the art of spinning and weaving was not known, it was a piece of deer-skin. The *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* states that it should be a piece of deer-skin, rather than a piece of cloth.⁴ In course of time when clothes became common, the upper garment also became a cotton product, but earlier tradition of the deer-skin was in a way preserved by continuing the use of a small deer-skin patch on such occasions. In later times when Yajñopavita as a piece of cloth was replaced by Yajñopavita in the form of the thread, this piece of deer-skin was strung in it. This custom still obtains at the time of Upanayana.

In the early period, Yajñopavita was normally in the form of a full upper garment like the *dupattā* of northern India or the *uparaṇe* of Mahārāshṭra. The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* states distinctly that Yajñopavita should be normally in the form of upper garment; wearing a thread instead is only the second

- 2 उत्तरं वासः कर्तव्यं पञ्चस्तेषु कर्मसु ।
स्वाध्यायोत्सर्गदानेषु मुक्ताचमनयोक्तया ॥

Baudhāyana in *Smṛitichandrikā*,
Sanskārakāṇḍa, p. 299.

- 3 वासो विन्यास विशिषो यज्ञोपवीतम् । दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरते
अवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमिति ब्राह्मणम् ॥ II, 1, 33

Nigamaparīṣiṣṭa in *Smṛitichandrikā*, p. 84.

- 4 अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपनीय । II. 1.

alternative.⁵ Jātūkarna quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā* distinctly declares that Yajñopavita in the form of the thread is permissible only when the upper garment of the normal size is not available.⁶ The view of Rishyaśringa is the same.⁷

Yajñopavita was to be worn on sacred occasions like the sacrifice or the prayer. In course of time the conception of the sacrifice changed; the whole life came to be regarded as a period when everything that one does should be dedicated to the Creator. Duration of the sacred duties and life thus became conterminous. If then the Yajñopavita was to be continuously used during the time one is engaged in sacred duties, it must be used all the twenty-four hours. This could be feasible only if the Yajñopavita assumed a more manageable form. It was probably on this account that Yajñopavita was allowed to dwindle in form into the modern Sacred Thread. The alternatives placed before society were many. Some were in favour of the continuance of the old custom; they held that it was sufficient if the Yajñopavita was worn as long as practicable, it need not be worn continuously for 24 hours.⁸ Others were in favour of substituting a Kuśa rope for the unmanageable upper garment.⁹ But Kuśa rope could not be pleasant in touch and so some others advocated that cotton thread should be preferred for the purpose.¹⁰ The reason in recommending the new substitutes was convenience and nothing else. For a

5 नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम् ।

अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे ॥ II. 2, 4, 21-22.

6 वस्त्रोत्तरायाभावे द्वयंगुलं त्र्यंगुलं चतुरंगुलं वा ।

सूत्रे वैस्त्राकृति परिमण्डलं तदुत्तरीयं कुर्यात् ॥

7 अपि वा वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थं कुर्यात्तदभावे विहता सूत्रेण ॥ Quoted in

Smṛitichandrikā, *Sanskārakāṇḍa*, p. 84.

8 कार्पासचौसगोवालशणवक्रवृणोद्भवम् ।

सदा संभवतो धार्द्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥

निगमपरिशिष्टं in रत्नचिन्त्रिका p. 84

9 यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते सूत्रं वस्त्रं वापि कुशरज्जुमेव वा । *Go. Gr. S.*, I. 2. 1.

10 अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे । *Āp. Dh. S.*, II. 2. 4. 22.

long time they were not popular; hence we find that in the Upanayana ceremony as it is described in most of the *Gṛihya-sūtras*, there is no mention of the boy being invested with the sacred thread. Instead we have the description of the boy being offered the *dupaṭṭā* or *uparaṇe* i.e. the upper garment at one stage of the ritual.

In course of time, however, owing to its obvious convenience, the innovation of the Sacred Thread became popular and its original significance was gradually forgotten. Brahmacārī was to wear only one Sacred Thread, but Snātaka was to wear two, one for the inner and the other for the upper garment.¹¹ It was clearly forgotten by this time that Yajñopavīta was intended to be the upper garment. If Snātaka was to wear two Yajñopavītas, the *Gṛihastha* must wear three, for he was one stage higher. The *Gṛihyā-saṅgraha* however, thinks that this third Sacred Thread was in lieu of the upper garment.¹² Devala also holds the same view, an upper garment he says is not always at hand, hence the recommendation to wear the third Sacred Thread.¹³

In course of time Yajñopavīta came to be invested with mysterious efficacy. The *Āditya Purāṇa* declares that it has the power of destroying demons. When such notions began to prevail in society, it is no wonder that the view began to be advocated that the greater the number of the Sacred Threads, the better would be our spiritual and material welfare. Kāśyapa would recommend 2, 3, 5, or 10 Sacred Threads for the house-holder;¹⁴ an anonymous text quoted by Mitramiśra is in favour of as many Sacred Threads as possible.¹⁵ All this

11 स्नातकानां द्वितीयं खादनवसंस्तथोत्तरम्। Vasishṭa in *Vīramitrodaya*,
Saṅskāraprakāśa, p. 421.

12 तृतीयमुत्तरीयार्थे वस्त्राभादि तदिच्छते। *Ibid.*, p. 91.

13 तृतीयमुत्तरीयार्थे वस्त्रालाभे तदिच्छते। Quoted in *Smṛitichandrikā*,
Ibid., p. 301.

14 वीथि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट गृहिणः स्वर्दंशापि वा *VMS.*, p. 421.

15 आयुष्कानैः सदा धार्यं बहुयज्ञोपवीतकम्। 'अन्यत्रापि' in *Ibid.*

vividly shows how the original significance of the Yajñopavita was completely forgotten by this time.

When Yajñopavita assumed the form of the thread, the custom gained ground of making each of its thread a constituent product of nine smaller threads. Omkāra, Agni, Bhaga, Soma, Pitṛis, Prajāpati, Vasu, Dharma, and Sarva-devas were taken to be the presiding deities of the nine threads of the Sacred Thread.

Even when the Yajñopavita dwindled into the Sacred Thread, it could be occasionally removed in the course of the day. The Taittiriya, Kāṭha, Kaṇva, and Vājasaneyā schools were in favour of permitting the removal of the Sacred Thread at the time of the daily bath;¹⁶ the R̥gvedins and the Sāma-vedins however advocated the doctrine that the Sacred Thread should never be separated from one's person. The latter view eventually prevailed and still obtains in Hindu society.

16

तैत्तिरीयाः कठाः काण्वाः चरका वाजसेयिनः ।

कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु कुर्युर्वै चालनं द्विजाः ॥

बह्वृचाः सामगाथैव ये चान्ये यजःशाखिनः ।

कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु पुनरहति संस्त्रियाम् ॥

Kosalānanda Kāvyaṃ

By L. P. Pāṇḍeya Śarmā

My attention was first drawn to this historical Sanskrit poem, which can be said to be the only authentic document about the history of the Chauhān Mahārājas of Paṭnā cum Sambalpur Kingdoms, when in 1925 I came across a mention of it in the *Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteers*.

I quote the portion relating to this poem from the *Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer*, p. 285 :—

“It appears from the *Kosalānanda*, a local work on the history of the Paṭnā Raj-family that Baijal Deo, the third chief from Ramai Deo, was the most powerful Chief and extended his dominions far and wide. He fought with Ram Chandra and Mahaling Gajpatis of Orissa for six years. Bamra was reduced to an annual tribute of 16 elephants, Gangpur, Bonai and other neighbouring states submitted without a fight, and Baud and Sirguza also submitted. It is said 72 chiefs were made tributary to Patna by Baijal Deo I. Dhenkanal was also subdued and the temple of the golden Mahadeo at Sonepur was built by him.”

As mentioned in a footnote to my paper on “Mr. C. U. Wills on the Sambalpur Aṭhāragarh” published in the *IHQ.*, June, 1929, I was able to discover a palm-leaf manuscript of ‘*Kosalānanda*’ in Oriya characters in the Sonepur Raj, Orissa. The possessor of this copy of the manuscript gave me the following account of its first find :—

Pandit Chintāmaṇi Nanda, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the famous Sanskrit scholar of Sambalpur, came across and obtained the original copy of manuscript of ‘*Kosalānanda*’ on palm-leaf in Oriya characters, in the *Nandol* Zamindari under the Paṭnā State, which was then in the Chhattisgarh Division of the C. P. This was about 70 years ago. The present possessor of the manuscript was at that time a student of the Vidyābhūṣaṇa. As this student was

in charge of the Vidyābhūṣaṇa's own library, he tried to avail himself of the opportunity of preparing a copy of it for his personal use. But this work could not be done promptly. In the meantime the renowned Vidyābhūṣaṇa breathed his last. The manuscript fell a victim to ants and was partly damaged. The copy which I saw has been prepared with the help of the damaged copy, which is said to be still in existence. I wanted to examine the original damaged copy of the manuscript, with a view to compare the *śloka*s, I took down as specimens from the historical poem, but the possessor could not lay his hands on it as it was misplaced among heaps of palm-leaf manuscripts of his collection.

The poem कोसलानन्द contains in all 21 sargas. The names of some of them are given below :—

इति श्रीगङ्गाधरमिश्र विरचिते कोसलानन्दे महाकाव्ये 'कोसलदेशनिरूपण
नाम प्रथम सर्गः

रामयशवर्णन 2nd सर्गः

पृथ्वीराजप्रशस्ति 3rd सर्गः

❀ ❀ ❀ ❀

दोलयात्रा विलास वर्णन नाम 16th सर्गः

नवरान्नि वर्णन नाम 17th सर्गः

वीरसिंह पुरुषोत्तम गमन' नाम 18th सर्गः

वीरसिंह पंचतीर्थ करणं नाम 19th सर्गः

इति श्रीगङ्गाधरमिश्र विरचिते कोसलानन्दे महाकाव्ये वीरसिंह तत्वावबोधो
नाम एकविंश सर्गः

The 1st *śloka* of the 1st सर्ग runs thus :—

शीतांशु विम्बप्रतिविम्बिताननं
मल्ललत्केलिकलाप शेखरं ।
विषाणधंशीस्त्वन लुष्ट गोकुलं
भजामि पीताम्बरमम्बुदप्रभम् ॥

The 2nd canto contains the following श्लोक

माणिक्य चौहान इति प्रसिद्धः
पुत्रोऽभवत् क्षेम महीधरस्य ।

यजन्मकालावधि सोमजानां
चौहान संज्ञाऽजनि भूपतीनाम् ॥

Rāma Deva or Ramai Deva, the founder of the Chauhān dynasty of Paṭnā cum Sambalpur kingdom, is said to have been born at Paṭnā in the house of a Brāhmaṇa, who named him as 'Rāma':—

ज्ञात्रोचितं तत्सुत जातकर्म
कुर्वन् यथाकाल मुदारचेताः ।
द्विजश्चकारास्य शिशोरभिर्यां
अर्थान्वितां "राम" इति प्रसन्नः ॥

s.l. 12.

शशाङ्क वंशाम्बुधि दीप्तरत्नं
विधिर्विधास्यन्निरामदेवं
महीपतिं कोसलदेश मध्ये
ससर्ज शार्दूलमनन्तवीर्यम् ॥

s.l. 17.

From the above śloka it appears that the state of Paṭnā then formed a part of कोसल country.

In one place the poem mentions one रणसिंह a prince of कोसलदेश :—

बभूव भूमी वलये च कोसले
चियन्नभोयुगम युगेऽब्द संस्थिते ।
कलौ वलीयान् बहुवैरि वन्दितः
क्षितीश्वरः श्रीरणसिंह संज्ञकः ॥

This रणसिंह lived about 4200 kali=Vikram era 1170.

The genealogy of रामदेव is found described in the following verses taken down from the very manuscript :—

रामो नामाभिरामोऽभवद्वनिधवस्तस्य पुत्रोमहादिर
लिङ्गस्तस्यात्मभूतः प्रवलरिपुजयी बैजलो राजहंसः ।
तत्पुत्रो वत्सरजो निजभुजदलितारातिवर्गस्तनूज-
स्तस्यासी द्योतराजः क्षितिपति-तिलकः ज्ञात्रनक्षत्रचन्द्रः ॥५॥
पुत्रोऽभूत् भोजराजाभिधधरशिपतेः वीरमहो गुणानां
राशिः क्षमावासिराशिस्तुतिनिवहसमुन्मीलदोर्दण्डसूर्यः ।

उग्रोयः खर्वगर्वक्षितिपति रमणोऽभूत् प्रतापादिमल्लो
 भूपालो भूमिपालो दलित रिपुबलोऽशेष शस्त्रास्त्रदक्षः ॥
 तद्वशे राजराजे जनितशुभयशा विक्रमादित्य नामाऽ-
 दित्यो निष्पन्न कृत्योऽभवदननुगुणो बैजल स्तत्तनूजः ।
 सत्पुत्रो राजहंसोऽभवदवनिधवो वीरगोष्ठी-वरिष्ठः
 कृत्येनाप्नोत् समाजोऽभजदवनिभुजं येन साफल्यमुर्वी ॥
 तस्मात् खाण्डववैरि पाण्डवसुहृद् वीरोऽतिधीरः परो
 देवानां तटिनी तटेऽतिखुषमां सत्तत्रनक्षत्रराट् ।
 प्राप प्राक्तन नाम सार्थमतुलं हीराधरो हीरकः
 स्पृशादंघ्रिगतावनीशमुकुटश्रेणीषु तद्रौरवात् ॥

सशौर्यं निष्काशित वैरि-संहति
 निजस्वरूपेण समो रतेः पतिः
 बभूव भूमेस्तल शीतलद्युतिः
 बलान्नतिः श्रीबलराम भूपतिः ॥
 विधाय यूपं नरसिंहमग्रजं
 सपुत्रपौत्रं नृपमाप्तपट्टनं ।
 चकार वीर्येण यशः सरोवरं
 महींमहीन्द्रः छमनो मनोहरम् ॥

The poem thus depicts the father of its hero, Baliyārsingh.

तदन्वये दर्पकदर्पभंजनः
 कृतावनीमण्डलवासिरंजनः ।
 बिभुत्वशौर्येण समुत्थितोन्नतिः
 ततो भवत् श्रीबलभद्रभूपतिः ॥
 कलौ चतुःसागरयोग आगते
 सुधर्क ई जीवयुते शुभेक्षिते
 सितेः छतुंगे बलिभिर्ग्रहैः परैः
 यतः स जातो बलसिंह ईरित ॥

From the above verse the date of the birth of Balasingh, otherwise known as Virasingh or Baliyārsingh, can be worked out.

With reference to the questions as given in the F. S.

Gazetteer, the poem is not silent. But the *śloka*s don't fully attest what has been stated in the gazetteer.

द्विपंचाशत् समा राज्यं कृत्वा राम महायशाः
इत्यन्तिकेस्ति तत्रत्यैरमरेरावृतः परः ॥
वर्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरे क्षितौ
रविरामयुगख्याते विद्यमानेब्दके कलौ
तस्यपुत्रो महालिङ्गः समा षट् बुभुजे महीम्
पितुः प्रताप-तपनार्दित भूपतिसेवितः ॥

In the 3rd *śloka* "रविरामयुग" —gives us the date 4312
Kaliyuga = Vikrama Samvat 1268.

वज्रलो नृप-शार्दूलः पञ्चषष्टि समा भुवं ।
पालयित्वा निजपुरं गतो वीरेः सहोदरैः ॥
यो भूत्वा नृपतेः गौडेश्वरेण वारणे सितुः
समरेषु वलाध्यक्षो ररक्षोत्कलसम्पदम् ॥
बत्सराजो भवत्यस्य नामतोः पलायितः
(❀ ❀ ❀ ❀)

कमाया संगमे यस्य समलाई छरेश्वरी
तत्कर्मप्रकटं ब्रूते पूजिता सततं हिता ॥
बामण्डा खण्डिता दण्डं गजान् षोडश वार्षिकम्
यस्मै ददावनुसरत् त्रि सेनापति-मन्त्रिणः ॥
साङ्ग गाङ्गपुरी पादाम्बुज सेवापरादरात्
यत्नेन रत्न वासांसि गोमहिष्यादिवाजिनः ॥
बनाई बनवासीव समासीनो नृपाङ्गणे
(❀ ❀ ❀ ❀)

बौद्धाधीशो खिमण्डीशो तथा वस्तर-भूपतिः ।
नन्दपुर्याः च ❀ ❀ ❀ ॥
येन गुंजा हृतः चन्द्रपुराधीशस्य रक्षितः
आहतो गजनाथेन भौमिकानां भयप्रदः ॥
स देवकानाहलपुरं दक्षा नादेन लीलया ।
विमर्दयन् स्रवृषवत् कमाई कूलमाश्रितः ॥

उनत्रिंशत् समाराज्यं बत्सराजेन पालितम् ।

भोजराजाय स ददौ पुत्रायेव मुनिव्रतः ॥

❀ ❀ ❀
❀ ❀ ❀

शिशुपाल विदारीव विक्रमादित्य भूपतिः

पुरीं चतुर्गुणां कृत्वा ननन्द नृपतिव्रजैः ॥

द्वष्टैः पूतैः शिष्ट द्विष्टैः नानाशास्त्रोक्तिनर्त्तनैः

चतुःत्रिंशत् समा राज्यं कृतवान् वीरमर्दनः ॥

बैजलः प्रतपन् चन्द्रपुरीं हुत्वा सकुण्डले

देव्यै ताम्रं ददौ कुण्डं सिताष्टम्यां ❀ ❀

त्रयोदशसमाराज्यं कृत्वा बैजल भूपतिः

इन्द्रासनं गतः प्रेक्ष्य ह्रीराधर सुखस्थितिम् ॥

There were two kings by the name of Baijala Deva. Baijala Deva II, son of Vikramāditya and father of Hirādhar Deva, was the author of a treatise on Sanskrit Grammar named प्रबोधचन्द्रिका, * which poem is otherwise known as बैजलकारिका † or बैजलकाव्यम् in Orissa and Bengal.

I would like to acquaint the reader with some more ślokaḥ from the 'Kosalānanda.'

समुद्रता कीर्तिलता समाश्रिता

विवेक वृक्षं यमटांगि मर्दने ।

परापरोन्माथ विधौ वितानिता

प्रफुल्लिता भञ्जज-गर्व-गंजने ॥

❀ ❀ ❀

स इन्द्रदेवो जलबुद्बुदोपमः

❀ ❀ ❀

निरीक्ष्य धैर्येण समं महीपति

पतिं गुरुं स्वांच महानदी सदा ।

* Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss., C. P. No. 3103-3105, p. 287.

†

Do

No. 3357, pp. 311.

ददाति रत्नं शुचि विन्ध्यनन्दिनी
 महार्घमन्याऽति गुणालि मोदिनी ॥
 स कोसलाया अनुतीरमुत्तरं
 तुरङ्गरङ्गेण भङ्ग भङ्गुरम् ।
 सदाधिगत्याहनियास्रवंनवं
 विधाय भावं प्रति साधवधवं ॥

It is said that in appreciation of this work, Mahārāja Baliyār Singh (Vira Singh) bestowed upon its author, a village named, Khandapāli. The author Paṇḍit Gangā Dhara Miśra belonged to the 'Rāj-Guru' family of Utkala Brahmins of Sambalpur. He or his ancestors must have immigrated from the Puri District, the seat of Vedic Brahmins called 'Utkalas.' The manuscript of the 'Kosalānanda' has the following:—

सम्मानैः ग्रामदानै पुनरपि नृपतिः
 पालयन् कोविदोन्यत्
 “भव्यं नव्यं सुकाव्यं कुरु”, विमल कुल-
 स्यातु मे सुगधता च ।
 नोचेत् गीर्वाण वाणीरटन पटुतया
 पण्डिता ये प्रसिद्धा
 भूभृत्या भृत्यवर्गैः कृत ॐ ॐ ॐ
 ॐ काव्यस्य कुर्युः ॥

The two ślokaś which refer to the poet run thus:—

पूर्वं सर्वं सुपर्वनायकगुरुस्पर्धी समृद्धौरतः
 पृष्टस्याखिल शास्त्रतत्त्व निगमज्ञानेव वारांनिधिः ।
 जातः शम्भुकरामिधः कविवरो विद्याकर स्तत् सुतः
 संभूता कवितालतोन्नतिकरावर्गाप्रकर्षान्विता ॥
 तद्वत् तस्य कुले सुधांशु विमले रत्नाकरे धीमतां
 गोपीनाथ क एव पण्डितवरो हीराङ्कुरो वर्तते ।
 जातं जन्म ममेति तत्र सहसानैषा विघत्ते मुदं
 विद्याहृद्यतरान्यसंसदिपरा गोत्राधिकः पूज्यते ॥*

* The Sanskrit verses quoted in this paper have been left untouched. They stand exactly as they appear in the original manuscript under reference.

Baudh Undated Grant of Raṇabhañjadeva

By A. C. Banerji, M.A., Calcutta.

Four sets of ancient copper plate grants were handed over to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji by Paṇḍit Tarakesvar Gangoly of the Mayurbhañj State, for decipherment. Out of these four, three were charters of Bhañja dynasty, and the fourth was a charter of Devānandadeva. All of them were noticed by the late scholar in his *History of Orissa* Vol. I; but on account of his sudden death, and continued ill-health prior to that event, he was able to decipher only one record. Before the manuscript could be sent to the Press, the grant was published by Mr. Binayak Misra.¹ I am now editing one of these grants with the permission of Mr. Paramananda Acharya, State Archæologist, Mayurbhañj. My thanks are also due to Pandit Gangoly for securing me the necessary permission.

The grant in question was discovered in the little state of Baudh in Orissa, but the exact find spot is not known to me. It consists of three copper plates, held together by means of a thick ring of copper, which passes through a round hole on the left side of each plate. A copper seal oval in shape, measuring 2" in the major axis and 1½" in the minor axis is soldered to the ring.² The writing covers two sides of one plate and one side of two plates. The inscription on the seal reads *Śrī-Raṇabhañjadevasya*. Above the name is a crescent and below it a Bull walking to left. It seems to me that the third plate of this charter was not a part of the original grant as no connection can be established between lines 29 and 30.

The inscription on the first plate begins with the usual phrases *saṃhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla* etc. Śilābhañja is mentioned in line 6, Śatrubhañja in line 10, and the donor

1 JBORS., vol. xvii, pp. 104-18.

2 I am indebted to Mr. Acharya for these details.

in line 19. Therefore in this grant we have the following chronology :—

[Śilābhaṇja

|
Śatrubhaṇja

|
Raṇabhaṇja

Paramavaiṣṇavo.....Bhaṇj-āmala-kula-tilaka samādhi-gata-pañca-mahāśabdo mahāsāmanta-vandita Stambheśvara labdha-vara-prasādo, Rāṇakah.

It is therefore apparent that this grant belongs to Raṇabhaṇja I, and not Raṇabhaṇja II.¹ In the Baudh grant of the 54th regnal year of this king, he is described as a *Mahārāja*, hence we may conclude from the preamble of this grant that it was issued in the earlier part of the donor's reign.

The object of the charter was to grant the village of AMVASARI in the *maṇḍala* of Khiṇjali to a brāhmaṇa named Devahara son of Kāchila, and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Keśava who had emigrated from Madhyadeśa and settled at a village called Mahiṣipadraka. The donee belonged to the Kānva gotra, Aśvalāyana śākhā, the Vahbhṛicha charaṇa. The village granted was in the neighbourhood of Sivarakhaṇḍa in the Dakṣiṇapali sub-division.

The grant was written by Padmanābha son of *Vaṇika* Pāṇḍi who was an inhabitant of Gandhātapati. This Pāṇḍi and his sons seems to have been entrusted with inscribing royal charters, by the Bhaṇja kings of Khiṇjali *maṇḍala*. A son of Pāṇḍi named Śivanāga is mentioned in the Sonpur plates of Śatrubhaṇja.² Padmanābha, who inscribed this grant, was also responsible for Singara plates of the 9th regnal year of the king.

The language of the grant is very incorrect Sanskrit, and the mistakes made by the scribe are numerous. I have indicated the metres of the portion written in verses, but the composer seems to have very little idea of prosody, and many

1 JBORS., vol. xiv, pp. 114-26. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* vol. i, p. 170, Calcutta, 1930.

2 EI., vol. xvii, p. 200.

stanzas have been left incomplete. The characters of the grants is similar to that of other records of this king. I am inclined to place this record after the Baudh grant of the 28th regnal year of the king.

Regarding ORTHOGRAPHY we have to note that *ta* has been doubled whenever it has been used before *ra* (cf. *ātapatṛaṃ* line 5; and *samattraya* in line 9). The village of Gandhātapati seems to be the modern village of Gandharadi in the Baudh state. I am unable to identify other place names.¹

The plates are now kept in the Museum of Archæology at Baripada, the chief town of Mayurbhaṇj State.

TEXT*

FIRST PLATE : FIRST SIDE

1. Om² svastiḥ³ || Saṃhāra⁴-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghoraḥ |⁵ saṃbhrānta-kiṅkara-kṛi-

2. tānta-nitānta-bhinnaṃ | bhinn-āndhak-āsura-mahāgah-an-ātapatṛas⁶ [|*] tad=bhairavam Hara-va-

3. purbha[va*]taḥ prapātu⁵ [|*] Durvvāra⁴-vāraṇa-ṇa-pratipaksha-[paksha*]-Lakshmiḥ |⁵ hatha-grahaṇa-su

4. praśrita⁷ pratāpā[ḥ*] | Bhañjā narādhipatayo v(b)ahav(b)o v(b)abhūr-udbhutaye-tra⁸ |⁵ bhuya⁹ bhu(ū)

5. ri-sahasra-saṃkhyāḥ [|*]⁴ Steshām¹⁰ kule sakala bhu-tala (bhūtala)-pāda(la)-mauli |⁵

6. māl-ārchchit-āṅghri-yu[ga*]lo valavā[n*] nṛipo=taḥ¹¹ || Śrī-Silābhañja-devaḥ

* Edited from the original plates.

1 B. Misra, *Mediæval Dynasties of Orissa*, p. 46, no. 10; Calcutta, 1933.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 read *svasti*.

4 Metre : Vasantatilaka.

5 The punctuation or visarga is superfluous.

6 read *ātapatṛaṃ*.

7 read *supraprasṛita*.

8 read *bahavo-bahaūvur=udbhūtaye=ttra*.

9 read *bhuvi*.

10 read *Teshām*.

11 The other grants have *bhut*.

7. prakāśaḥ¹ pauruṣa-raśmi-chakra-nirdārit-ā[ri*] hṛi-
dayo = sya pitā nṛipasya | [||*] Gāmbhī-²

8. ryeṇa payonidhiḥ sthīratayā bhūmir-vvalen = ānilas-
tejobhir-jvalanor-yamāṇ³

9. samatraya⁴ śubhai⁵ yaśobhiḥ śaśi ātma-sarvva-jagan-
manah sthītatvaya⁶ da

10. tt-āvakaśo viyāt⁷ |¹² Śrī-Śatrubhaṇja ity = ātula-dhi[h*]
[||*] Tasy = ātmajaḥ svayambhu-vat | [||*]

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE.

11. Anye-nya-madamāna-militaḥ⁸ samuddhata-nṛipa-
chakra chaturāṅga-v(b)ala-kshobhaḥ⁹ |

12. chalita-dharā-maṇḍala¹⁰ gaja-turaga-kshura-nirdārana
prasarad-atulaḥ¹¹ |¹² dhuli-vi-

13. tāna-saṃchhanna-jany-āṅgana¹³ gaja-skandha-vedikā
svayaṃvar-āyāta [||*] parinata¹⁴

14. jaya-lakshmiḥ |¹² samānandita-paurjana-manaśaḥ¹⁵
śrīmad-Bhaṇja-bhupatiḥ purā[d*] = Dhri-

15. ti-pura-nāmnaḥ [|||*] śarad-amala-dhavaḷa-kara-yaśaḥ-
paṭala-dhavalita

16. dig-vadano [||*] Anavarata-pravṛittaḥ |¹² sanmāna¹⁶
da(dā)n-ānandita-sakala-ja-

17. no aṇḍaja-varṣa-prabhavaḥ | Paramavaishṇavo-
mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāto

1 read *prakāśaḥ*.

3 read *yamaṇ*.

5 read *śubhair*.

7 read *vīyat-jātaḥ*.

8 read *Any-onya-mardamāna milita*.

9 read *kshobha*.

10 read *maṇḍala*.

12 the punctuation is superfluous.

13 read *saṃchhanna-jany-āṅgano*.

15 read *paurajana-mānaśaḥ*.

16 read *anavarata-pravṛitta-sanmāna*.

2 Metre : Śārdulvikṛīḍita.

4 read *samatayā*.

6 read *sthītatayā*.

11 read *atula-dhuli*.

14 read *pariṇīta*.



गङ्गा शुभ यमाकम् निनः यन्त्र गङ्गा पयकुयउम अवनकु ५१
 यनिनमा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५२ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५३ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५४ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५५ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५६ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५७ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५८ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ५९ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६० नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६१ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६२ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६३ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६४ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६५ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६६ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६७ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६८ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ६९ नि
 गङ्गा मन्त्र गङ्गा गङ्गा मन्त्रिङ्गा पयसा दउक ७० नि

Baudh Undated Grant of Ranabhanjideva.

J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX, 1934.



[illegible]

Baudh Undated Grant of Ranabhañjadeva.

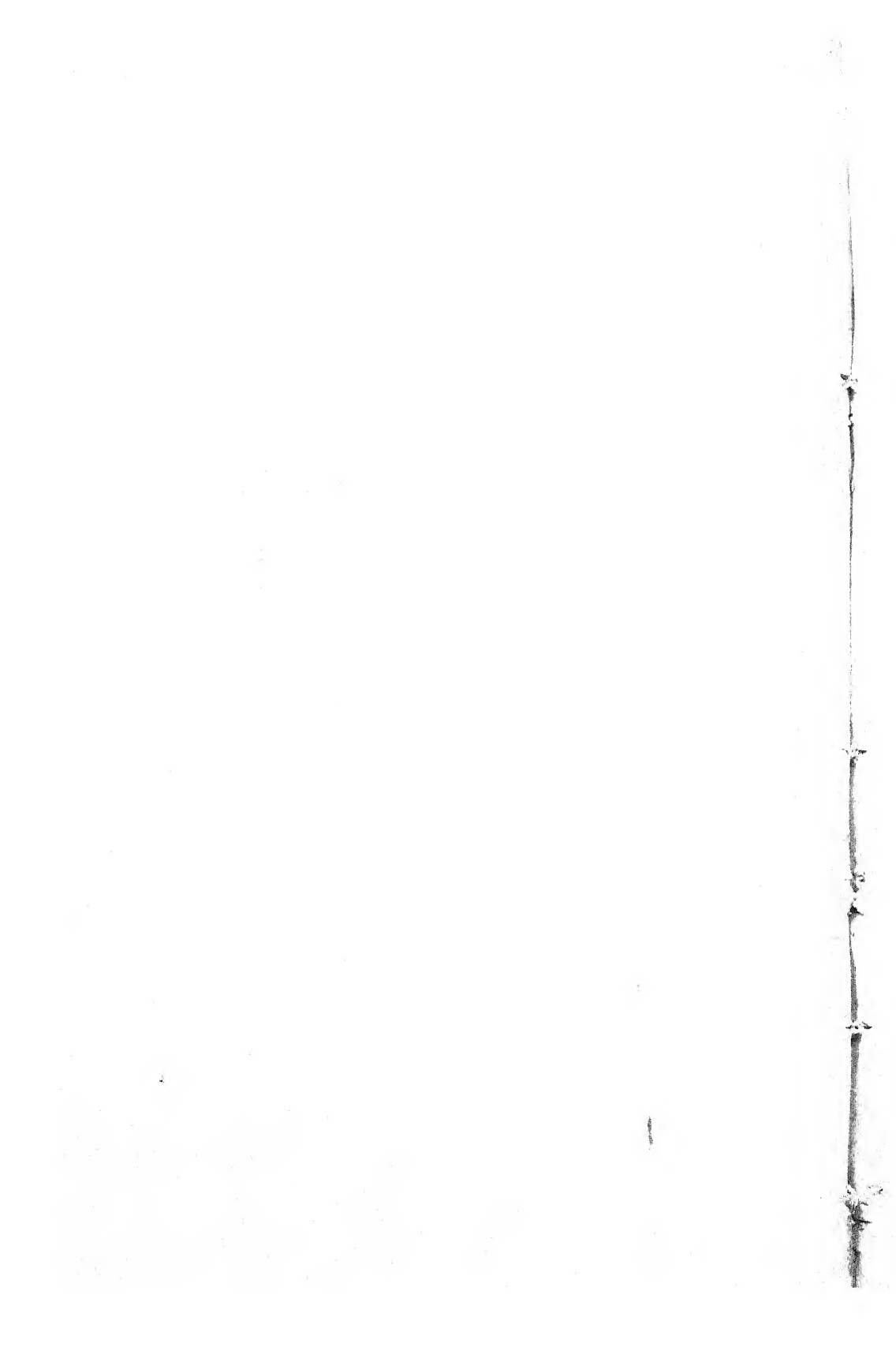
J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX, 1934.

〈 Seal 〉



Seal of Baudh Undated Grant of Raṇabhañjadeva.

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18. Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilakaḥ¹|⁸ samadigataḥ²-pañchama-
hā-śabdaḥ(śabdo) mahāsā-

19. manta-vandita Stambheśvari-lavdha-vara-prasādaḥ³
Rāṇaka[ḥ*] śrī-RAṆABHAṆJA

20. deva-kuśali | lh=aiva KHIṆJALI-maṇḍale bha-
vishyad-rāja-rājanak-ā

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE.

21. ntaraṅga-kumārahmatta⁴ mahāsāmanta-brāhmaṇa-
pradhānānn-anys-cha⁵-daṇḍapā[ś*]i

22. ka chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātiyān | yathārhiṃ(arhaṃ)
mānayati bodhayati samandīśa-

23. yati⁶ ch-ānyat | sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākaṃ viditam-
astu bhavatāmḥ⁷ || Dakshiṇa

24. pali-Sivarākhaṇḍa-pratibaddha ||⁸ Amvasari-grāmas-
chatu[ḥ*] śi(si)mā-paryanta

25. nidh-aupanidhi sahitaṃ⁹ || Visubha—¹⁰saṃkrāntau
mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha

26. puny(ṇy)-ābhi-vṛidh(ddh)aye salila-dhārā-puraśvarena¹¹
vidhināḥ⁷ vidhi-vi

27. dhānena sa-vidh-oyam tāmva-śāsanaṃ pradattaḥ¹² ||
Kānva-gotrāya Āṅgirasa

28. Ajamilha-¹³kānva triyārisaya¹⁴-pravarāya Āślāyana¹⁵
-sākḥāya | Vābhrija (Vahvṛicha)

1 read *tilaka*.

2 read *samādhigata*.

3 read *prasādo*.

4 read *kumārāmātya*.

5 read *brāhmaṇa-pradhānan-anyamś=cha*.

6 read *samādiśayati*.

7 The visarga is superfluous.

8 The punctuation is superfluous.

9 read *nidhye-upanidhi-sahita*.

10 read *Vishubha*.

12 read *pradatta*.

11 read *purahsarena*.

13 read *Ajamidha-kāṇva*.

14 read *try-ārsheya*.

15 read *Āśvalāyana-sākḥāya*.

29. charanya¹ Madhyadeśa-vinirgata(āya)-Mahishipadraka-
vāstavya-Bhaṭaputra-Kā-

30. chīla-suta-Keshava-naptriṇe² Bhaṭ[!]^{*}aputra-DEVA-
HARASYA³ pradataḥ⁴ ||

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE.

31. J(Y)asya-j(y)asya yadā bhūmi[s*] tasya-tasya-tadā
phalaṃ | Harate-hāryate bhūmi[m*] ma-

32. nda-budhi(ddhis)=tamāvṛita[h*] || Taṭākānām śa(sa)-
hasrāni ch-āśvamedha-sa(śa)tāni cha Goghna

33. sa(śa)ta-sahasreṇa bhūmi-hatra(rta) na sudhyati⁴ ||
Sva-datām⁵ para-datam-⁵vā yo harati-va-

34. sundharām śa(sa) viśṭhāyām-kṛimir-bhutvā pitṛibhiḥ
(bhi) saha pachyate || Bhūmiṃ-yaḥ pratigri-

35. hn(ṇ)āti bhūmiṃ yaḥ prayachchhati [|*] ubhau-tau
puṇya karmānu niyatau(m) sva-

36. rga-gāminau || [Ā*]sphoṭayanti pitarah vaglayanti⁶
pitāmahā[h*] [|*] bhūmi-

37. dātā-kule-jāta[h*]⁷ sa-maḥ⁸-strātā⁹ bhavisyati || Arddh-a
(ā)ṅgulena-si(si) māyām-haraṇe

38. na-pranasya(śya)ti-sa-vadhau¹⁰ Varuṇai[h*] pāsa(śa)-
air-tiryag-yonishu jāyate || Yath=āpsu

39. patitaṃ Syakras¹¹-taila-v(b)indu[r*]-visarpati[|*] evam
bhūmi kṛitaṃ dānaṃ saḥsyē-sasye¹² praro-

40. hati || Śrī-Gandhāṭa-patya-vāstavya-Vaṇika-Pāṇḍi
suta-PADMANĀBHENA likhita-

41. m-itiḥ

II 0 II

1 read *charaṇāya*.

3 read *Devaharāya*.

5 read *suddhati*.

7 read *pravalgayanti*.

9 read *trātā*.

11 read *śakra-taila* etc.

2 read *Keśava-naptri*.

4 read *pradatta*.

6 read *dattām*.

8 read *me*.

10 read *baddho*.

12 read *sasye*.

So-called Tribal Coinages of Northern India

A. C. Banerji, M.A., Calcutta

This contribution does not propose to deal with all the tribes who are known to have inhabited the various parts of Northern India from time to time. From accounts indigenous and foreign, we have quite a crowd of these tribes but few of their monuments have survived to show what part they played in the political and cultural life of India. The literary records merely make a mention of them; everything else is blank. We have therefore to rely upon such scraps of information as we can get from other sources. Therefore in the following pages only those tribes whose coins have been found are dealt with. To the evidences of coins will be added every scrap of information which may be available to us from other sources about them. But before we enter into actual description of their coins, it will be better if we attempt at a reconstruction of their history, as far as it is deducible from various sources at our disposal. We will therefore discuss briefly what these various sources are, and what is their respective worth.

The sources of information about the tribal coins may be divided into two main classes: literary and archæological. The first class again may be subdivided into two groups: foreign and indigenous. The only foreign source of information about these tribes is the accounts of Greek historians of Alexander's invasion of India; that too is not much, for these works mention only three tribes, namely the *Mālavas*, the *Śibis*, and the *Aśvakaśas*. Though the number is small, the information thus received is valuable. Then comes the indigenous literature, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, works of grammarians like Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Pāṇini and Patañjali are of great value; but the *Purāṇas* and the works like the *Mahābhārata*, are of doubtful value. First because none of them are history in the proper

sense of the term; secondly because most of them in their present form were written down at such a late date that the authenticity of their information is very doubtful. They probably record mere legends and traditions. It is not possible to deduce sober history out of legends and traditions but we cannot deny the element of truth behind these accretions.

We now come to the second class of evidence. This too may be divided into two distinct groups: epigraphical, and numismatic. The information, afforded by the inscriptions regarding these tribal states, is very meagre. Some time they merely mention the tribe by name; and with the solitary exception of the Yaudheyas none of them have left any record. It is quite possible that future explorations might yield some new results, until then there is little help to be gained from this source of information. Most valuable source of our knowledge is their coins. The tribes whose coins have so far been found number twelve. These are :—

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Arjunāyanas. | 2. Aśvakas. |
| 3. Audumbaras. | 4. Kulūṭas. |
| 5. Kunindas. | 6. Mālavas. |
| 7. Rājanya Janapada. | 8. Śibis. |
| 9. Uddehikas. | 10. Vimakas. |
| 11. Vṛiṣṇis. | 12. Yaudheyas. |

We will first give a particular description of every one of them, and see next what features they possess in common; and it is only when their introductory history is over, then we will proceed to give a detailed account of their coins, describing their types, legends, etc.

A. HISTORY.

Arjunāyanas

The coins of the Arjunāyanas are extremely rare. The name of the tribe is not to be found in the older Sanskrit literature, but they are included in the Rājanya group in the *Gaṇapāṭha*. Therefore Mr. K. P. Jayaswal seems to be right in maintaining that the Arjunāyanas were a younger political

community founded about the Śuṅga times.¹ The territory occupied by this tribe cannot be properly fixed. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta the tribe is mentioned as paying homage to the great Emperor. They are also mentioned in the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* along with the Yaudheyas and others.² But late Dr. V. A. Smith was of opinion that mere collocation of names in the *Saṃhitā* list does not, as Cunningham erroneously supposed, give any information as to the relative position of the tribes mentioned.³ The late Mr. McCrindle took *Aggalassoī* of the Greek writers to be the same tribe as the *Arjunāyanas*.⁴ They probably occupied the territory represented by modern states of Alwar and Bharatpur.

Aśvakas

The Aśvakas of Indian literature are mentioned by the Greek writers as the Assakenois; they lived in the Swat valley with their capital at Messaga (*Sk. Māsaka*), and Bazira, Ora, and Aornos as their chief fortresses. They were probably the first Indian tribe to be met by Alexander the Great. The contest was long and gruelling but in the end they had to bow down to inevitable fate. To the Greek historians of Alexandrian invasion we owe a deep debt of gratitude for having left for posterity some details of the struggle.

Alexander met the Assakenois after crossing Gaurious (*Sk. Gauri*), modern Panjkora which joins the river Swat (*Sk. Suvāstu*) just before the plains of Peshawar. As we have been told by the Greek writers that with the crossing of the river, began the invasion of the tribal territory, Sir Aurel Stein, who recently made a tour in the upper Swat valley, concludes that it could not have been any other place except the Swat valley, including Buner and the valleys to the north of the latter.⁵

1 K. P. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, Pt. I. p. 154.

2 Kern—*Bṛihat Saṃhitā* (Bib. Indica.) p. 103.

3 *JRAS.*, 1896 p. 886

4 McCrindle—*Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 367. App. N. ff.

5 Stein—*On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, p. 42.

From Arrian whose account is considered by the same scholar to be very reliable, we know that Alexander first marched to Messaga. The exact site of this ancient city has not yet been identified. Stein is of opinion that the site may probably have to be looked for further down in Swat than has hitherto been supposed. The siege of the city has been very vividly described by Arrian and Curtius. Regarding the Greek account Sir Aurel Stein says "Two points recorded in connection with the capture of Messaga deserve to be briefly noted here. One is the mention made of 7,000 Indian mercenaries brought from a distance who shared in the defence of the place, and ultimately after its capitulation made a vain endeavour to regain their homes, and in that attempt were exterminated. The employment by a local chief of so large a contingent from outside clearly indicates conditions of organised defence, wholly different from those with which a modern traveller in the tribal territories in the North-western frontier would have to reckon. In the second place attention may well be drawn to the fact inspite of the recorded great valour of the defenders, Arrian's account puts the total loss suffered by Alexander in the course of four days' siege at only twentyfive men. In the cheap price paid for this success we may recognise a proof of the ascendancy which the Macedonian force of highly trained and war-hardened veterans derived, in addition to all other advantages, from the possession of superior armaments; for both Arrian and Curtius specially testify to the overmastering effect which the use of the beseigers' war engines, including movable towers and powerful ballistae had upon the defenders.⁶" With the first point of the above quoted passages I readily agree, as every one would. But the conclusion which the learned explorer has arrived at on the figures of casualty given by Arrian is open to objection. The figures of Greek casualty as given by Arrian are in my humble opinion wrong. The siege of Messaga, as we have been told, lasted for four days; and as

6 *An Arch. Tour in the Upper Swat Valley and the adj. hill dists.*
Memoirs of the Arch Surv. No. 42. pp. 25-26.

everyone dealing with the subject has rightly concluded, called forth determined and desperate opposition from the defenders. The Greek accounts too do not create any contrary impression. When the siege of Messaga began, Alexander himself led his forces but was repulsed. The next day the engines made a breach in the walls, but when the Greeks tried to force their way through the breach they were so fiercely opposed that Alexander was forced to recall his men for that day. Next day the attack was renewed with greater vigour, and the help of a tower was requisitioned, but with no result. Therefore Sir Aurel Stein's statement that the Greek engines, and ballista had overwhelming effect on the defenders is not borne out by actual events. Next day Alexander caused a bridge to be thrown over the breach and himself led the attack. Here we are distinctly told that the bridge gave way on account of a large number of men trying to pass over it at the same time thus causing overweight. The Indians at that moment began to ply them with arrows from a distance; while others sallying forth struck them at close quarters. Then we must take into our consideration the deadly struggle put up by the mercenaries when treacherously attacked. We are definitely told by Diodorus that the mercenaries offered desperate resistance, even the women fought. After all this, it is hard to believe that only twentyfive men were killed amongst the Greeks. The superiority of the Macedonians in armament, leadership, and organization was undoubtedly great. But that is no reason for considering the natives of the country as martially weak and unable to offer effective resistance to the Greeks.

The siege of Messaga would always remain one of the blackest spot in Alexander's character. The late Dr. V. A. Smith made a great effort to defend his conduct, but the facts still remain the same. Smith may be quite right in thinking that Diodorus is wrong in ascribing implacable hostility of Alexander to the mercenaries. But we fail to appreciate how the wholesale murder of this gallant body of men can be taken as 'a tremendous penalty for a meditated breach of faith.' On the other hand if there were any persons who deserved the best of posterity it was the mercenaries. They fought bravely

and defended their charge so effectively that neither Alexander's leadership nor the superiority of the Greeks in every department could take the fort by storm. These men who had made their sword a marketable commodity had a far better sense of duty than Ambhi, the King of Taxila, or Alexander. It is true that addition of this formidable force to the enemy would have been a great impediment to Alexander's advance, but that is no reason for bringing them out of their fortified position by false promise and then attacking them treacherously. Having failed to capture the fort by force or stratagem, Alexander employed blackest treachery, to gain his object, and the widowed queen is supposed to have saved her life at the cost of her honour.

After the capture of Messaga, Alexander sent Koinos to Bazira, believing that the inhabitants would easily capitulate on learning the fall of Messaga. He further sent Attalos and others to Ora with instructions to invest the place until his arrival. Ora being isolated soon capitulated, and on learning of its fall Bazira too surrendered. According to Sir Aurel Stein ancient Bazira is modern Bir-Kot in the upper Swat valley.⁷ The high antiquity of the site is undoubted, and coins from the time of Indo-Bactrian kings down to those of Hindu Sahiya kings of Kabul, found there, demonstrate the important role played by the site in the history of North-western India. Ora according to the same scholar is now represented by the ruins of *Raja Gira's Castle* near Udergram.⁸

The next Assakenoi stronghold to be captured by Alexander was Aornos identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the ancient remains at Pir-Sar in the Swat Valley.⁹ About the subsequent history of the tribe our knowledge is very little. They are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. It was Lassen who first identified Aśvaka of Sanskrit literature with Assakenois of the Greek writers.¹⁰

7 Stein—*Op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-41.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-88.

10 Lassen—*Indische Altertumskunde*, vol. I, Note 6; vol. II, p. 129.

Audumbaras

The Audumbaras are not mentioned by Pāṇini, but are included among the Rājanya group in the *Gaṇapāṭha*. Most of their coins were discovered in the Punjab. They are mentioned in the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*.¹¹ In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are mentioned as a tribe of Madhyadeśa. In the *Harivaṃśa* they are mentioned along with the Kulindas, Traigarttas etc.¹² That they were originally a tribe of the north-west is evident from the provenance of their coins, and the use of Kharoṣṭhī in their legends. But Pliny places a tribe called *Odonbores* in Cutch. The difference in our various sources of information as to the exact tribal territory seems to be due to the migration of the tribe, to various parts of India, from their original habitat in north-western India. The tribal territory in the Punjab has been very happily fixed by late Sir Alexander Cunningham. This seems to be the district round about Pathan-Kot in the Punjab. At Pathan-Kot, which seems to have been the capital of the Audumbaras, General Cunningham found coins not only of this tribe, but also of the Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Parthians, and Kushan kings; pointing to the occupation of the tribal territory by the successive rulers of Northern India.¹³

Kuluṭas

The existence of this tribe was not recognized for a long time due to a mistake made by late Sir Alexander Cunningham who misread the coin legend and considered it an Audumbara coin. In 1900 the correct reading was given by Bergny and accepted by Prof. Rapson and others.

But it was the late General Cunningham who first pointed out that the modern Kullu valley is the ancient *Kuluṭa* country.¹⁴ It is now a sub-division of the Kangra district in the Punjab,

11 Kern—*Bṛihat Saṃhitā*, p. 88.

12 Pargiter—*Mār. pur.*, p. 355; *Harivaṃśa śl.* 1466.

13 Cunningham—*A.S.R.*, vol. v, p. 133; and vol. xiv, pp. 115-19.

14 Cunningham—*Geography of Ancient India* (Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar-Sastri), pp. 162-64.

and comprises the upper Beas valley, Waziri Rupi, Sarai Lahul, and Spiti. On the north it is bounded by Ladhak, on the east by Tibet, on the west by the principalities of Chamba, Mandi, and Suket, and on the south by Sutlej and Bushire states. To Bergny, and Professor Rapson we owe our knowledge of the Kulūṭa tribe and the various references to them in Sanskrit literature.¹⁵ They are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*, and by Hiuen-Tsang, Bāṇa, and Alberuni. A brief history of the Kullu valley from the earliest times down to the British conquest was written by Dr. Hirananda Sastri.¹⁶ According to the same scholar another name of the Kullu valley was *Kulāntapīṭha* and the title of a work called *Kulānta-pīṭha-māhātmya* is also mentioned by Dr. Sastri. The character of the legend on the coin would place them in the first century B.C. The *Mudrārākṣasa* calls them foreigners, but whatever might have been their origin, when these coins were issued they were completely Indianised.

Kunindas

In Sanskrit literature this tribe is referred to under various forms, such as Kuninda, Kauninda, Kulinda, Kaulinda. Varāhamihira places them along with the Madras, and Sindhu-Sauvīras.¹⁷ They are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vāyu*, and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*, and as Kulindrine by Ptolemy, probably from Indian Kulinda. It has been supposed that the ancient tribe is represented by modern Kunets and their capital was at Sugh near Barya on the west bank of the Jumna.¹⁸

Rājanya Janapada

The Rājanya Janapada was an ancient tribal state, but not so old as the Śibis, Vṛiṣṇis, and the Yaudheyas. They are mentioned by Pāṇini (iv. 2. 53.), Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

15 JRAS., 1900, pp. 420f, and 529f.

16 ASIAR., 1907-8, pp. 260-76.

17 Kern—*op. cit.*, p. 93.

18 Cunningham—ASR., vol. xiv, pp. 15-35, and 137-99.

They are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*; the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* places them in north-eastern India. Professor Rapson and the late Dr. Smith considered them to be *Kṣattriyas*. As such they are to be regarded as the same tribe mentioned as Chatrioi by the Greek writers, and the *Kṣattriya* tribe mentioned in *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, and Nasik praśasti of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi.¹⁹

The late General Cunningham thought that they were to be regarded as Rajputs. But this conjecture of the late General is unacceptable. Long before the barbarian forefathers of the modern Rajputs had set their feet on the soil of India, the Rājanyas had ceased to exist like many other famous tribes of ancient India.

Śibis

The most ancient of all tribal states were probably the Śibis. They have been identified with the Śivas, who are mentioned in the *R̥g-Veda* (vii. 18. 7.) along with other tribes defeated by Sudāsa, but this is doubtful. Patañjali in his gloss on Pāṇini (iv. 2. 109) speaks of a place called *Śivapura* as situated in the northern country. This Śivapura is evidently the capital of the Śivas. The Śibis on the other hand had their own capital called *Śibipura*, which is mentioned in an inscription of the 4th century A.D. found at Shorkot in the Punjab.²⁰ The probability is that the Śivas and Śivapura are distinct from Śibis and Śibipura. The earliest certain mention of the Śibis, we find in the *Vessantara* and *Ummadanti Jātaka*s. The historians of Alexandrian invasion of India also speak of them as having offered a stout resistance to the Macedonian monarch in the Punjab. Later on like many other tribes of Northern India they seem to have migrated southwards, for a large number of coins belonging to the *Śibi janapada* were found round about Nāgari, fourteen miles to the north of Chitor-gadh. The date of these coins makes it quite evident that the

19 Shamasastri—*Arthaśāstra*, (Mysore) 1919, p. 978, *EL.*, VII. p. 60.

20 *EL.*, XVI, pp. 15-17. I owe this reference, as well as the suggestion that Śibis and Śivas were two different tribes to Professor. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Śibis had settled in this part of Rajputana before the Christian era. The *Daśakumāra-charita* locates them on the Cauvery. But about their history we know very little. The tribe at first had a monarchical constitution, but later on seems to have developed a republican one. One of the two sources on which the above conclusion is based is their coins, in the legends of which the term 'janapada' occur. The other source is Diodorus who tells us that there was no king in the tribe, and the citizens filled the highest offices.²¹

Uddehikas

Just thirty-two years ago the coins of this tribe were first brought to the notice of the public by Professor Rapson. Our knowledge about the political history of this tribe is practically nothing. The character of the legend on their coins would place them in the 3rd century B.C.; and in the 4th century A.D. their existence is attested by *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*. The similarity in types of these coins with those of Eran led Professor Rapson to conclude that the territory of the Uddehikas was not very far from Eran.²²

Vimakas

The least known of all the tribal states are the Vimakas, whose coins were classed by Cunningham along with the Audumbaras. It is possible that the Audumbaras and the Vimakas were neighbouring tribes.²³

Vṛiṣṇis

The Vṛiṣṇis were an ancient tribe like the Śibis, and according to the *Paurāṇic* tradition were an offshoot of the *Aila* race. The Vṛiṣṇis and Andhakas were closely related. Vṛiṣṇi the founder of the clan is supposed to be the brother of Andhaka founder of a clan of the same name; in some

21 Diodorus, xvii, 96; Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, pt. 1, p. 68.

22 JRAS., 1900, p. 98.

23 Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68, pl. IV, fig. 6.

literary works these two are always mentioned together. They seem to have had a federal organization.²⁴

Pāṇini mentions an *Andhaka-Vṛiṣṇi* league. The literature and the coin legends point beyond doubt that they were a republican tribe. The *Mahābhārata* at one place in *Sabhāparva* tells us that the Daśārṇas were kingless. The *Śāntiparva* too gives us a very illuminating account of their tribal organization (Chapter 81). Kauṭalya tells us that the Vṛiṣṇi Saṃgha came to grief on account of their inability to keep all the human passions in check. It is worthy of note that the Vṛiṣṇi Saṃgha included numerous confederate clans, such as the Yādavas, Kukuras, Bhojas etc. But Kauṭalya speaks of Vṛiṣṇis and Kukuras separately. The reason as explained by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar seems to be that before the time of Kauṭalya they had probably separated. He points out that according to the chapter 81 of the *Śāntiparva*, disputes had already arisen between the various contending parties in the lifetime of Kṛiṣṇa, and though they were quieted by him it appears that after his death it became so acute that the league was dissolved, and that is why on their coins the name of the Vṛiṣṇi gaṇa is alone mentioned.²⁵

Yaudheyas

The Yaudheyas according to the *Paurāṇic* tradition were the descendants of Nṛiga, a king of the Aila race. They are mentioned by Pāṇini as an *āyudhajīvī saṃgha* and are placed in the Saubhreyas group (V. 3. 114); they are also mentioned by Patañjali. Quintus Curtius mentions a tribe called *Sabracae* who were led by three generals but had no king. Cunningham identified them with the Yaudheyas.²⁶ The power and fame of this famous tribe can easily be appreciated from the following phrase of the Girnar Inscription of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradaman: 'of the Yaudheyas rendered extremely proud by having manifested their title of heroes amongst all the kṣattriyas.' "Such praises coming from an enemy are indeed

24 Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922, pp. 105-7.

25 D. R. Bhandarkar—*Some Aspects of Hindu Polity*, pp. 111-13.

26 Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 76.

of great significance, and lend some weight to the claim of the Yaudheyas themselves that they 'possessed the secret charm of winning victories' (*yodheyānām jayaḥ mantradharā-nām*) as found on some clay seals discovered at Ludhiana."²⁷ The territory ruled over by the tribe may roughly be fixed according to the recorded findspots of their antiquities, as Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has done. Thus it seems to have comprised an area bounded on the west by a line drawn from Bhawalpur along the Sutlej and the Beas up to Kangra; on the north east by a straight line drawn from Kangra to Saharanpur, on the north by a line drawn from Saharanpur *via* Panipat, and Sonapat to Bharatpur and on the south by a line drawn from Bhawalpur *via* Suratgarh, Sirsaud, Bhatner, to Bharatpur.²⁸ It is quite possible that the Yaudheyas did not occupy this vast territory at one and the same time, and it is also possible that the different findspot might represent different periods of occupation.

B. NATURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THESE STATES

In the above passages we have sometimes designated these tribes as republican. The question therefore may naturally arise what are the grounds for such a conclusion? Our main ground is their coin legend where the terms *gaṇa* and *jana-pada* occur. There was a time when scholars were seriously of opinion that India had known only one form of Government—monarchy. It was Dr. Rhys Davids who first pointed out that the Pāli literature proves the existence of the republican system of government in eastern India. In 1913 Mr. K. P. Jayaswal further demonstrated that references to republican system of government can be found in Sanskrit literature too.²⁹ It is of course needless to mention that this theory has not received the assent of all. But the attitude of the majority may be briefly summarised in the words of Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji,

²⁷ R. C. Mazumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, (2nd. Ed.) pp. 269-70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2; *JBORS.*, vol. xix, pp. 147-50.

²⁹ *Modern Review*, 1913, pt. 1, pp. 537-41.

who is of opinion that, "Families, clans, tribes and village communities, were often formed into republican states which evolved a strong and settled organization—no less significant than the organization of an empire. In the early period they presented a sturdy opposition to Alexander the Great in the Punjab and won his admiration. They survived the centralisation of the ambitious Magadhan monarchy and continued till the early centuries of the Christian era, thus having a longer history of vigorous freedom than the short lived Greek city states, or the Roman republic."³⁰ The existence of the Indian republics is attested by Greek writers too. Chapter 107 of *Śāntiparva* throws much light on the working of the republics.

Besides *gaṇa* there is another term used on the coin legends; it is *janapada*. In a passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the term *janapada* is stated to be opposed to *Rājan*. Thus according to Professor Bhandarkar it denoted an autonomous province as opposed to a city state (*naigama*). He is further of opinion that as all these states issued coins as a sign of their political power, this *janapada* may rightly be regarded as a democracy.³¹

As the question of Indian republics, its various forms, duration etc., has been discussed threadbare by scholars like Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Professors Bhandarkar, and B. K. Sarkar, Drs. R. C. Mazumdar and Bainiprasad, I end my discussions rather abruptly here.

These small tribal states played their humble part in the political life of India and then disappeared into oblivion. It is true that they were a great hindrance to the unification of the whole land, but inspite of this their usefulness is also obvious. As in the west, these small states were far more attached to freedom and autonomy than the subjects of a centralised power. It is now an well established fact that inspite of its great contribution to human culture, imperialism has always tended to degenerate the people under its domina-

30 R. K. Mukherji—*Democracies in the East*, p. 76.

31 Bhandarkar—*op. cit.*, pp. 118-21.

tion. The same tale is told whether we look to Greece, Rome, or India. Thus when Darius and Xerxes invaded Hellas the small city states staking their everything opposed the powerful invaders. It was the city states of Greece who fought Marathon and Thermopylæ, and not imperial Athens or Macedon. But centuries after that when Philip of Macedon besieged Olympia, in vain did the unfortunate inhabitants of the doomed city appeal to other Greek states, in vain Demosthenes thundered before the lifeless Athenian Assembly. Olympia was razed to the ground but not a finger was raised in its defence. The spirit which had led old Greece to defy the legions of the king of kings was long dead, throttled by imperialism. The same conclusion can be arrived at by comparing republican Rome during the Punic Wars, and the imperial Rome at the time of invasions by Goths, Huns, and other barbarian tribes. The usefulness of these small tribal states for the history of India can best be understood by comparing the invasion of Alexander the Great with that of Mahmud of Ghaznā. It is an undeniable fact that the sturdy opposition put up by the small states of the Punjab (republican or monarchical) was the main cause of failure of Alexander the Great to proceed beyond the Beas. Therefore these states by fighting and resistance saved the rest of India from the Macedonians. But centuries after this when Mahmud the iconoclast appeared before the gates of India we find a different story narrated. There was no one on the banks of the Beas to challenge the victorious Turk's easy entry into the interior of India. There were no Assakenois, no Mallois, and no Poros, to sacrifice their lives and homes for the honour of their women, sanctity of their idols and the freedom of their people. While the Chāhamaṇas, the Chāndellas, the Haihayas and the Pratihāras were busy satisfying their mutual interests and jealousies, the whole land was laid waste, its temples demolished, cities looted and burnt and the people massacred.

C. TYPES AND LEGENDS

The types and legends of these coins have already been dealt with by other scholars. But as I have differed from them

on many questions it was thought necessary to give few notes.

Arjunāyanas—The coins of these tribes fall into two classes. The first bears a striking resemblance to the northern satrapal coins of Mathura. This is quite possible in view of the fact that some of these coins were found at Mathura.³²

Obverse:—Standing male figure with right hand raised
Legend in Brāhmī: *Arjunāyaṇāna (Jayah)*.

Reverse:—Bull standing left.³³

The second class of coins was first brought to our notice by the late Dr. Smith; but his description is not quite correct. On the obverse he has failed to take note of an humped Bull before the curved object. This object again seems to me to be nothing but a sacrificial altar. Therefore the correct description of this type of coin would be:—

Obverse:—Humped Bull standing to the left facing a sacrificial altar within railing. Legend in Brāhmī: *Arjunāyanānāṇ Jayah*.

Reverse:—Tree within railing to the right, Elephant facing front with trunk upraised.³⁴

Professor E. J. Rapson also described this class of coins but what he took to be obverse Smith took to be reverse or vice versa. The type is significant, as it bears a striking resemblance to the Yaudheya coins, and thus clearly establishes the fact that the Yaudheyas and the Arjunāyanas were neighbouring tribes. The date of these coins, according to Prof. Rapson, is either later part of the first century B.C. or earlier part of the first century A.D.³⁵

Audumbaras—The late General Cunningham's description of coins of this tribe is faulty in this respect, that, he failed to distinguish the coins of at least two different tribes namely the Vṛiṣṇis, and the Kulūṭas. Moreover in his list there are coins of some kings about whom there are no other kinds of

32 Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 89-90, pl. VIII, fig. 20.

33 *Cat. of Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, vol. I, p. 166, No. 1.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 166, No. 2; pl. XX, No. 10.

35 *JRAS.*, 1900, pp. 160-7.

evidence that they belonged to the Audumbara tribe. As the late Mr. R. D. Banerji has rightly pointed out that it is inexplicable how coins of Rudravarmā, Ajamitra, Mahimitra came to be included in the coinage of this tribe.³⁶ With regard to this it has been pointed out. "But Mr. Banerji does not accept this view on the ground that we have not the name Odumbara coupled with those names, while in the case of Dharaghosha Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, we invariably find that the name of the tribe is associated with that of the king. Consequently the attribution of coins which do not bear the name of the tribe of the Audumbaras, must be very doubtful. But there is no reason why the same practice should be adhered to throughout the ages; a change in the constitution of the Audumbaras might lead to the introduction of new form of legends. So long as great importance was attached to the tribal character of the constitution, the name of the tribe was coupled on the coins with the name of the ruler; but if later on with the change of constitution and augmentation of the royal authority, the rulers gave only their own name and omitted that of the tribe, then there is nothing improbable in it. We cannot therefore accept Mr. Banerji's statement in full. Some of the coins e.g., those of the Vṛiṣṇis, Mahārāja Janapada(?), Vīrayaśas, and perhaps Bhānumitra had been wrongly attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras; and it is almost certain that they were rulers of this tribe of which the national god was Śiva."³⁷ As regards the change of constitution it would be interesting to know what proof the learned Professor has been able to gather in support of his conclusion. In my humble opinion the similarity, in type, in style, or provenance, are no sure criterion for inclusion of any coin in any tribe where the tribal name is not found. After the downfall of the Western Kshatrapas, the Gupta kings issued coins of the same type, fabric and metal, for the use of the people of Gujarat and the neighbouring provinces.

36 Banerji—*Prāchīna Mudrā* (Bengali Edition), p. 111.

37 S. K. Chakravarti—*Studies in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 163-4.

Shall we be right in maintaining that all Gupta emperors from Chandragupta to, say, Skandagupta were members of the Kshatrapa dynasty? Then again one of these kings has been classed by Prof. Chakravarti himself as belonging to another tribe called the Vimakas. These show how fallacious is Prof. Chakravarti's assumption that the kings on whose coins the tribal name does not appear should also be regarded as belonging to the Audumbara tribe. Thus of Cunningham's list Dharagoshha alone can be regarded as an Audumbara king. The type of this king is:—

Obverse:—Śiva standing to front with right hand raised, and left on hip. Legend in Kharoshthī *Mahādevasa Rājño Dharaghoshasa Odumbārīsa*. Across the field *Viśpamitra*.

Reverse:—Tree within railing, to left trident with battle-axe. The legend in Brāhmī. (same as in Kharoshthī). These coins are generally of silver. According to Prof. Rapson there is a strong similarity of style between this type and one of Azilises.³⁸ The manner in which *Viśpamitra* or *Viśvāmitra* (?) is inscribed on the obverse probably suggests that the male figure is not that of Śiva, but that of the great sage mentioned in the epics and the *Purāṇas*.³⁹ It is quite probable that the family to which the king belonged claimed descent from the mythical sage king of the Hindus. But this is merely a theory in support of which there is very little evidence.

The scholars are of opinion that the coins of this tribe can be divided into various sub-classes. The first has already been described, the second class has the following type.

Obverse:—Elephant before a tree within railing, snake below; incomplete Kharoshthī legend *Odumbara*

Reverse:—A pyramidal structure (two or three storeys high) with lower storey supported by pillars, to left a *Svastikā* on pillar; and pillar with pendant garlands to right.⁴⁰

The silver coins of Dharagoshha described above are round in shape and this has led some scholars to suggest that he was

38 *CAI.*, p. 67, pl. IV, fig. 1; Rapson—*Indian Coins*, p. 11.

39 Chakravarti—*op. cit.*, p. 159.

40 *CAI.*, p. 68, pl. IV, 8.

probably influenced by some of his Greek contemporaries. Their date is *circa* 100 B.C.⁴¹

The third class of coins was described by late Mr. R. D. Banerji. They were found in a hoard of 363 coins discovered in the Kangra district of the Punjab. In this, the late Mr. Banerji found coins of two new kings, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa. The type of both is same or nearly same; but on account of some variations in the legends and symbols occurring on both the surfaces they may be divided into various groups⁴²

Obverse:—Tree within railing, before which the forepart of an Elephant. Snake below, legend in Brāhmī (bearing the name of the tribe and the king).

Reverse:—A pyramidal structure (two or three storeys high), Trident and Snake below. Legend in Kharoshthī. Regarding the date of these coins the writer pointed out that both Kharoshthī and Brāhmī alphabets belonged to the first century B.C.⁴³

Kulutas—While describing Audumbara coins I have already pointed out that the late General Cunningham did not properly appreciate the importance of one *Kuluṭa* coin. The correct reading and description was first given by Mr. Bergny, and accepted by Prof. Rapson and others.⁴⁴

Obverse:—A circle surrounded by dots. Legend in Brāhmī *Rājña Koluṭasya Virayaśasa*.

Reverse:—A chaitya(?) surmounted by an umbrella, a trident, to the left a *svastikā*, to the right the symbol consisting of the letter 's' direct and reversed with a bar between them.

Kurindas—The silver coins of this tribe bear legend on both sides and use both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī scripts. The type is:—

Obverse:—Female with left hand on hip offering flower (?) with right hand to a stag(?) standing to right, with the symbol 's' direct and reversed between the horns of the animal.

41 Rapson—*Ind. Coins*, Sec. 43. 42 Chakravarti—*op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

43 JASB., 1914, pt. I, pp. 47-50; *Prāchīna Mudrā* (Bengali Ed.) pp. 111-12.

44 JRAS., 1900, pp. 420 and 529f.

Square stūpa surmounted by an umbrella above stag, and a disc surrounded by dots at one of the hind legs of the animal. Legend in Brāhmī *Rājña Kunadasa Amoghabhūtiṣa Maharājasa*.

Reverse :—Six arched stūpa or mountain symbol surmounted by an umbrella. To the right a tree within railing, to left a *svastikā*, below it an unknown symbol. Above triśūla symbol, and below snake. Legend in Kharoshthī, (some as in Brāhmī).

Difference of opinion exists as to the explanation of various symbols occurring on these coins. Even regarding the animal, opinion is not unanimous. Theobold and Thomas were inclined to regard the animal as an Yak.⁴⁵ But Smith and others were of opinion that it is a stag. In our opinion the semi-circular horns, tufted tail, and form of the knee joints of the forelegs probably suggest that it is an Ox, Buffalo, or Cow. The symbol below *svastikā* has been explained by Theobold as a begging bowl. But Fergusson's suggestion that it is probably some kind of altar seems more probable to me. Prof. S. K. Chakravarti on the other hand considers it to be a Vajra.⁴⁶ The symbol at one of the hind legs of the animal was considered to be a mint mark by late Dr. Smith but it is probably a solar symbol (see section on the symbols). The coins of this tribe can be divided into various groups according to type, metal, fabric or the characters of the legend. The Kunindas used for their coins copper, silver, and bronze. Some coins have legend in Brāhmī only, and some such as described above, used both Kharoshthī and Brāhmī. Some of them though small in size are very finely executed while those bigger in size are barbaric. The smaller ones invariably remind us of the brilliant issues of the Indo-Bactrian kings. The small coin exhibited in Smith's *Catalogue* (vol. I, pl. XX, no. 11) may well be regarded as a specimen of art of the period, its execution and naturalism in portraiture being admirable. The coins bearing both Brāhmī and

⁴⁵ JASB., 1886, p. 161.

⁴⁶ Fergusson—*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 148. Woodcut No. 16. Chakravarti—*op. cit.*, p. 187.

Kharoshthi are certainly earlier than those bearing Brāhmī legend only. The flower in the hand of the female figure seems to be a lotus.

The numismatists are of opinion that Amoghabhūti was the name of a king of the Kunindas. But there is one serious objection to this; the legends show that the Amoghabhūti coins extended over centuries. The late Dr. Smith arrived at the same conclusion from a consideration of their style. Therefore the most natural conclusion is, that this Amoghabhūti reigned for centuries like the Biblical kings. Smith tried to explain this difficulty by saying that "The name Amoghabhūti seems to have been used on the coins long after his death."⁴⁷ But this does not appear to be very convincing. Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that it was probably an official title is not at all improbable.⁴⁸

Apart from the above there are other class of coins assigned to this tribe by others. These are generally designated as *Chatreśvara* coins.

Obverse :—Śiva standing facing, grasping trident or battle axe in right hand, with left hand on hip; Legend: *Bhagavataḥ chatreśvara mahāmanaḥ*.

Reverse :—Stag standing to left, tree in railing to right; six arched chaitya and triangular headed symbol left; snake below; a symbol below and another above stag.

Mālavas—The various vicissitudes through which this famous Indian tribe passed have been discussed by me elsewhere.⁴⁹ Therefore only their coin types will be taken up here. Professors Rapson and Chakravarti are of opinion that there were two Mālava tribes, one remained in their original habitat in the Punjab, while the other migrated southwards via Bhatinda.⁵⁰ My objection to this theory is that by migration no scholar means that every member of the tribe

47 Smith—*op. cit.*, p. 161.

48 Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, pt. I, pp. 36 and 82.

49 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. xiii, pp. 218-29; *JBORS.*, vol. xix, pp. 53-4 and 147.

50 *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 542; Chakravarti—*op. cit.*, p. 190.

vacated the tribal area. The meagre data at our disposal do not warrant any such conclusion. It is quite possible that some of the Mālavas might have remained in the Punjab, but both the learned Professors have lost sight of one important point, that is, these are the coins of autonomous tribal states, that as soon as that autonomy ceases to exist, the tribe forfeits all claim to any individual consideration by the historians and numismatists. Their history need not worry us any longer. As the tribal territory of the Mālavas in the Punjab, was occupied by the Mauryas, Greeks, Śakas, Parthians, and the Kushans, it is impossible to believe that the remnants of the Mālavas were able to maintain their autonomy against such heavy odds. The very fact that Kauṭilya does not mention them proves that in Mauryan times the Mālavas were no longer regarded as an autonomous tribe of the Punjab.

The late Dr. V. A. Smith was of opinion that of all the coins of ancient India, those belonging to the Mālava tribe are most curious and enigmatical. The chronology of the series has not yet been determined, and the problems raised by them are far from being settled. Carlyle and Cunningham were of opinion that their date ranges from c. 250 B.C. to 250 A.D.; and the late Dr. Smith and Prof. Rapson thought that their initial date is 150 B.C.; but while the former took the date of cessation to be 380 A.D., the latter extended it to 5th century A.D. The series may be divided into various groups and classes. At first they may be divided into two main classes, (I) the coins bearing the tribal legend, (II) and the coins bearing the names of the supposed kings of the Mālava tribe. The first class may be divided into two small groups. One bearing the legends in Prakrit which are certainly earlier than the second group bearing legends in Sanskrit. To either of these groups must be added those coins having legends from right to left; similarly the second class of coins may also be subdivided into various small groups. But the classification of this class of coins has been made very difficult on account of the fact that the meanings of the legends are not very clear, the only way that any division can be made is by palæography.

All the classifications suggested above are tentative, because the characters of some of the coins of both the series indicate that they were probably contemporary issues. The Mālava coins bear strong resemblance to the coins of the Nāga kings of Nārwar.

It is a noteworthy fact that silver and gold are conspicuous by their absence, which proves that Mālava coinage was primarily local. This seems quite natural, if we remember that the Mālava territory in the Rajaputana area was hemmed in by large kingdoms on all sides, and as they had no sea coast, all their trade must have passed through the territories of the neighbouring states. It is therefore quite possible that the need of an international currency was never felt by this tribe.

As the coins of the Mālavas have already been described by Smith, Cunningham, and Carlyle, and discussed by late Mr. R. D. Banerji, and Dr. S. K. Chakravarti, there is no need of going over the same. Apart from those bearing the tribal legend and names of the supposed kings, there is also another class of coins found in the tribal area but unlike those described above, they do not bear any legend at all. But on account of similarity of types they are usually assigned to this tribe.⁵¹ Before we conclude, one point requires to be mentioned, which in my opinion seems to be an inaccuracy. In certain coins e.g., pl. xx, fig. 15, Smith has described one device as tree within railing; a minute examination leads me to suggest that it is only a palm leaf, and as such it occurs on coins nos. 16, 18, 20, of pl. xx.

Rājanya Janapada—The coins of this tribe were found at Mathura, and are analogous to the Northern satrapal coins; they are usually placed in the first century B.C. The coins are of two kinds, die struck and cast, though the types in both the cases are the same.

Obverse :—Standing figure with right hand raised.

Legend :—*Rājāṇa Janapada*.

Reverse :—Humped Bull standing to left a symbol above.

⁵¹ Smith—*op. cit.*, p. 178.

In the Indian Museum collection there is another type, which is different from above and also use Brāhmī only in its legend.

Obverse:—Standing figure with right hand raised, legend in Brāhmī *Rājāṇa Janapa(dasa)*.

Reverse:—Bull standing to left within rayed circle.⁵²

Śibis—All the coins described by Cunningham were round and bore the same type. Their weights ranged from 63 to 84 grains. The Śibi coins were first described by Carlyle in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. vi. He read the legend as *Majhamikā yasi Vijñānapadasa*. As he himself tells us, it was pointed out to him by General Cunningham that by little re-arrangements of the words he could arrive at a more plausible solution, but he adhered to his own theory. In the fourteenth volume of his *Reports* Cunningham corrected this error. He however translated the legend as the coins of the 'Middle country of the Śibis'. His views about the three divisions of the Śibi country may be quite correct, but it is also possible that the *Majhamikā* of the coin legends may refer to the city of *Madhyamikā* whose siege by a *Yavana* army is referred to by Patañjali.

Obverse:—A cross with a symbol at each angle, to the right a straight tree rising from a circle. Legend *Majhamikāyā Śibi janapadasa*.

Reverse:—The mountain symbol surmounted by an Umbrella(?); snake below.

Uddehikas—For the study of the evolution of Indian coinage, the coins of this tribe are most important. According to Professor E. J. Rapson who first brought the coins of this tribe to our notice, all the devices that occur here are found on earlier punch marked coins. But whereas there they are punched with different dies, here they are struck with a single die. The coins described by Prof. Rapson are of two distinct types.

1. *Obverse*:—Humped Bull to right, above tree within railing represented horizontally.

52 Smith—op. cit., p. 179, pl. xxi, fig. 11.

Reverse :—The Cross and Balls or the Ujjain symbol, the fishes within an oblong pond and a tree within railing.

II. *Obverse* :—A five headed snake, below an elephant tree with railing(?) represented horizontally, at top left some countermarks.

Reverse :—Tree within railing, and fishes within an oblong pond, and the Ujjain symbol. Legend in Brāhmī 'Udeha.*Suyamita.*'

Vimakas—The coins of this tribe were included by Cunningham amongst those of the Audumbaras.

Obverse :—Bull to right, in field flower. Legend in Kharoshthī; *Rājña vamaḥisa Rudravarmasa vijayata.*

Reverse :—Elephant facing right, to right *triśūla*. Legend in Brāhmī (as in Kharoshthī).⁵³

Vṛiṣṇi—So far only one Vṛiṣṇi coin is known to us and that was described by Cunningham.

Obverse :—Pillar with half lion and half elephant as capital, above it *triśūla* symbol. Legend in Brāhmī *Vṛiṣṇi rājña gaṇasya trātārasya.*

Reverse :—Wheel surrounded by arrow and chain, Legend in Kharoshthī (same as in Brāhmī).

Yaudheyas—The coins of this tribe are generally divided into three classes, but as a matter of fact they fall into four distinct groups. To the first class belong those small coins which according to Prof. Rapson are analogous to the Audumbara and Kuninda coins. Their date is *circa* 100 B.C. and weigh from 64 to 74 grains.⁵⁴ The late Dr. Smith's description of these coins are faulty, the correct description is :—

Obverse :—Bull standing to right facing a sacrificial altar within railing. Legend in Brāhmī *Yodheyāna.*

Reverse :—Elephant moving to right, *triśūla*. In some of

⁵³ Cat. of Coins in the Punjab Museum, vol. I, p. 167, no. 137, pl. xvi.

⁵⁴ Rapson—Indian Coins, sec. 60, p. 15.

the specimens there is legend under the Bull which nobody has been able to read quite successfully.⁵⁵

The second class of coins was first described by Prinsep. Smith considered them to be barbarous.

Obverse:—Six headed god *Kārttikeya* standing on lotus (?) with left hand on hip, and right hand raised towards barbed spear. Legend in Brāhmī (incomplete) *Suāmī Brahmanya devasya*.....

Reverse:—Six headed goddess standing on lotus, tree within railing to right, six arched mountain symbol with a structure at its top with *trīśūla* symbol to left. They are usually placed in the the 2nd century A.D.⁵⁶

The third class of coins is similar in fabric and type to those of the Imperial Kushaṇas, and are generally placed in the 4th century A.D.

Obverse:—Male figure standing facing front, grasping spear in right hand and left on hip, a bird at its left foot. Legend in Brāhmī *Yaudheya gaṇasya jayaḥ*.

Reverse:—Robed figure walking to the left with right hand extended, and left hand on hip.⁵⁷

Some notes on these three types are essential. In the first type of coins the object within railing is described by Smith and Cunningham as 'tree within railing', and by Prof. Chakravarti as the national standard of the Yaudheyas. But in my opinion the whole scene depicted seems to be a Bull being led to a sacrificial altar within a sacred enclosure. This type is analogous to the Arjunāyaṇa coins. In the second class of coins the six-headed deity holding spear in his extended right hand seems to be, as first suggested by Cunningham, and further discussed by my friend Mr. M. N. Mukherji, the figure of *Kārttikeya*.⁵⁸ As regards the third type, the figure on the obverse has been described by Cunningham as that of a

55 Smith—*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 180, nos. 1-7 and p. 1. 181 fn. 1. pl. xxi, fig. 13.

56 Smith—*op. cit.*, p. 181, pl. xxi, fig. 15.

57 Smith—*op. cit.*, pp. 82-83, pl. xxi, fig. 18.

58 Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 77; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, vol. vii, pp. 309-18.

soldier; and the figure of a Rājā or 'male figure' by Smith. But the bird at its left foot seems to me to be a peacock, and as peacock is the *vāhana* of Kārttikeya, the Mars of the Hindus, I take the figure to be that of the god. On the reverse of this type on a specimen described by Cunningham we find a pot with foilage (pl. VI. 7.),⁵⁹ while the symbol to the right of the figure is not distinct. In another specimen there is a conchshell (or lotus) to left, while on the right of the figure we find the symbol consisting of the letter 's' direct and reversed with a bar between them.⁶⁰

Apart from these there is another class of coins which has been noticed by Cunningham only.

Obverse:—Tree within railing in middle, Cross and Ball to left, and double *trīśūla* to right.

Reverse:—Blank probably due to defacement.

They are of copper and weigh about 23 grains.⁶¹

D. NOTES ON SYMBOLS

The tribal coins of Northern India may be regarded as representing an advanced stage in the development of Indian coinage. Like the oldest Indian coins (I mean the punch-marked) they are characterised by a number of devices appearing on both their surfaces, with the difference, that in this series a single die is used, whereas in the former each device had a separate die. Another important new feature is the introduction of the coin legends, in the later series, a custom no doubt inspired by the fine issues of the Indo-Bactrian kings of the Kabul valley and the Punjab. In this section we propose to deal with some of the devices which appear on the coins just discussed.

Stūpa or Mountain Symbol:—This symbol has been given various names. But the main controversy is whether the symbol represents a mountain or a Buddhist stūpa. The evidence at our disposal leads us to conclude

⁵⁹ See also, Smith—pl. xxi, fig. 19.

⁶⁰ Smith—op. cit., pl. xxi, fig. 20.

⁶¹ Cunningham—op. cit., p. 77, pl. vi, fig. 1.

that it represents a mountain. In certain punch-marked coins it is found associated with Dog, Tree and Crescent.⁶² It also occurs on certain potteries found by Mr. H. Hargreaves while excavating the pre-historic mounds at Nal. A seal of late Minoan style has been found at Knossos, on it stands a female deity on a mountain peak, the hill on which she stands is represented by rows of semi-circular curves.⁶³ Therefore in the above passages we have shown that the symbol under discussion has been found on pre-historic pottery within the borders of India, and in the historical period it is found associated with Dog, Tree, and Crescent. We have also shown that outside India the same method is employed to represent a mountain. Therefore the only rational conclusion is that the symbol represents mountain.

Tree Symbols—The trees are always represented, at least, on this class of coins, within some sort of enclosure, which is an indispensable sign of their sanctity. This class of symbols was taken by earlier writers like Theobald and others as Buddhistic in origin and significance. But recent excavations at Harappa, and Mohenjodaro have proved beyond doubt that tree worship, both in its anthropomorphic and vegetal forms, were prevalent in ancient India since chalcolithic times. On certain seals discovered at these two places were found trees within enclosures, and in one particular seal the tree represented is Pippal (*ficus religiosa*), the holy tree of the Buddhists.⁶⁴

Apart from this pre-historic data, evidence is not lacking as to the fact that tree worship was prevalent in ancient India, before, and even during the time, when Buddhism had gained a strong foothold in the country. In the epics we find references to *chaitya-vṛikṣas* and the *devāranyas*.⁶⁵ From traditions recorded in the Jaina literature it appears that

62 JASB., 1890, pt. I, pl. 8.

63 *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv.*, no. 40, pl. xvii, no. 42; Glotz—*The Aegean Civilization*, p. 245, fig. 40.

64 Sir J. H. Marshall—*Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, vol. i, pp. 63-5, pl. xii, fig. 18.

65 Hopkins—*Epic Mythology*, pp. 6-8.

Chaitya-vrikṣas were revered by the Jainas too. The stūpa at Bhārhut which was certainly a Buddhist monument and cannot be placed later than 150 B.C., has various scenes carved on its railing that once surrounded it. Most of these relate to Buddhist *Jātaḥ* legends, but there are others, on which has been depicted the primitive tree worship which seems to have survived till 150 B.C., if not even to a later date. These as well as other instances lead us to conclude that the cult of chaitya tree and its symbols are not only pre-Buddhistic, but is a common feature in all the great religions of India.

Wheel—This is another symbol which was regarded as purely Buddhistic in origin and character by writers like Foucher, Theobald, and others. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes a ritual in which the turning of a wheel placed on a post in a sunwise direction is said to bring great merit to the performer.⁶⁶ The Wheel was also a sacred symbol of the Jainas, and as such it appears in many sculptures. Its use in other countries and religions has already been described by Mr. Simpson and therefore need not be dealt with here.⁶⁷

Trisūla—It was one of those symbols which was used universally in India. The symbol is found engraved on railings of Buddhist stūpas at Bhārhut, Sāñchi, and Amarāvati. In sculptures the *Trisūla* is in many cases accompanied by the wheel, and sometimes we find scenes depicted where these two symbols are being worshipped by men and women. Regarding its use by the Jainas, the sculptures found at *Kaṅkālī-tīlā* near Mathura are our main evidence. Describing these and two *ayagapattas*, the late Dr. Bühler pointed out, "The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representation of four highly ornamented *Trisūlas*, which no doubt with the ancient Jainas, as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of three Jewels....." In another place he expressed the opinion that "the *Trisūla* was no doubt, in ancient India, used by all sects for various purposes and various interpretations."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii), pp. 22-23.

⁶⁷ *El.*, vol. ii, pp. 321-22; W. Simpson—*The Buddhist Praying Wheel*, London, 1896.

⁶⁸ *El.*, vol. ii, pp. 311-23, plates I and IV.

Solar Symbols—The solar symbols appear in this series in two different forms. One is rayed disc, and the other consists of one dot at the centre, surrounded by a circle of dots. Regarding the use of this latter symbol Sir Flinders Petrie the distinguished Egyptologist tells us,⁶⁹ "An allied pattern is the disc surrounded by spots. This is very usual on early Greek pottery and is also found on Aegean pottery also. This is very rarely seen in purely Egyptian design, and only in the XVIII dynasty, when Mykenian influence was the strongest. On Neferhoteps ceiling two forms are found, put between the horns of the Bulls heads, like the rosette on the Mykenian Ox head. Elsewhere it is usually seen on the scarves of the Negroes as a characteristic decoration, and on the dress of the Amu. Hence it appears to be distinctly foreign ornament, like the other spot pattern on the zig zag line." This symbol is also found on an old Norwegian crown stated to have come from Sogne Fjord district and now kept in the Museum at Bergen.⁷⁰

The symbol 'S' direct and reversed—This symbol is found between the horns of the Ox on Kuninda coins, and with certain additions it is found on coins of other tribes too. On some specimens of the Yaudheya and Kuluṭa coins a bar is found between the two 'S'. This symbol appears in certain punch-marked coins found by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar while carrying on his excavations at Besnagar; it is also found on one of the small antiquities (seal?) discovered by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner during his excavations at Kumārḥār (*Pāṭali-putra*).⁷¹

Cross and Balls Symbol—It is called the Ujjain symbol by the numismatists because it is generally found on the coins of the Ujjain area. In the present series it occurs on the coins of the *Uddehiḱas* as well as on the fourth type of Yaudheya

69 There is slight difference between our device and those produced in Sir Flinders Petrie's work.

70 Sir F. Petrie—*Egyptian Decorative Art* (2nd. Ed.) London, 1920, p. 60, figs. 109-11; *IA.*, xv, p. 67.

71 *ARASI.*, 1913-14. pl. LXVI, fig. 19; *Ibid.*, 1912-13. pl. xlix, fig. 4.

coins. It was one of the dynastic symbols of the Andhras. Formerly it was thought that this symbol was purely Indian, but I find that it occurs on certain seals found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos.⁷²

Pot with or without Foilage—These symbols are found on Yaudheya coins as well as on some Mālava coins. The pot with foilage is considered even now an auspicious symbol by the Hindus, and is placed on two sides of the main entrances of their houses on ceremonial occasions. In the *Jaina Kalpa Sūtra* the pot alone and pot with fragrant flowers are considered as an auspicious symbol.⁷³ Amongst other symbols described in this work as sacred or auspicious are Fish, Garland, Elephant, Bull, Lion, the Sun and the full Moon; many of these occur on the coins under discussion.

The Square Stūpa—This curious device occurs on the obverse of the Kuninda coins, either above or below the animal. It appears to be some kind of stūpa, and is surmounted by an umbrella. We know of round stūpas in historical period but square ones are unusual. From a passage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* we learn that in ancient times square burial mounds were made by the Aryans or the people who were godly. "Now the gods and the Asuras both of them sprung from Prajāpati were contending in the four regions (quarters). The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and being regionless they were overcome, wherefore the people who are godly make their burial places four cornered, while those who are of Asura nature, like the easterners and others, make them round, for they (the gods) drove them out of regions."⁷⁴ Thus we see a tradition recorded in this *Brāhmaṇa*, that before the system of cremation came in vogue, two kinds of burials were in existence in India, the difference being mainly ethnic. It is quite possible that the round form of *Asura* burial mound ultimately gave birth to round stūpas found all over India, because Buddhism

72 Evans—*Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol. I, p. 281, fig. 213.

73 *Kalpa Sūtra* (S. B. E., vol. xxii), pp. 219-38.

74 *Śat. Brāh.* (S. B. E., vol. xli), pp. 423-24.

after all is a religion of eastern India. While in the Punjab a people of a different ethnic stock, true to their age old customs and traditions began to build square stūpas even after embracing Buddhism. In this connection I may mention here that many of the bases of stūpas found in the Peshawar district are square. But nothing or very little of their superstructure has survived the ravages of man and time to afford us any definite clue. At the same time it is also conceivable that all these square bases did not possess round or hemispherical dome above them. That all Buddhist stūpas were not round is proved by the remains of a cross shaped stūpa at Sahri-Bahlol.⁷⁵ From the above it will be apparent that this symbol as well as the ruins of stūpa bases at Sahri-Bahlol and other places, prove the existence of square stūpas in ancient India.

75 ARASI., 1911-12, pl. L, fig. 37.

A Contemporary Record of Śivāji's Birth

By Dasharatha Sharma

In the Bikaner Fort library, there is a small cloth-bound manuscript consisting of seventy leaves. It belonged, most probably to some good astrologer, for it contains the horoscopes of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur rulers, Mughal emperors, Imperial princes, and some famous commanders. Most of the horoscopes belong to the Samvat century 1600. But as the latest of all bears the date V. E. 1719=1662 A.C., the horoscopes must have been collected into the manuscript either in this year, or a year or two later. Though almost all the horoscopes that it contains are interesting, I give below only one, the horoscope of Śivāji which I regard as specially valuable, because hitherto no other contemporary record of the date of Śivāji's birth has been discovered. The *Sabhāsad bakhar*, written in 1694 A. C., about fourteen years after Śivāji's death, does not mention the date even once, and the *Tārīkh-i-Śivāji* and the *Chitragupta bakhar*, which do so, are so far removed from Śivāji's time that they cannot be considered satisfactory guides in this matter. The date given by these is about 6th April, 1627 which differs by more than a year from that assigned by our horoscope which runs as follows :—

Janmalagna

चं ६	४	
श० ७	५	३
के० ८	रा० २	
६	र० बु० ११	१
वृ० १०	शु० १२	

Bhāva

६	४	४
७	५	३
८	२	
९	११	१
१०	१२	

Samvat 1686 varṣe Phāguṇa¹ vadi 3 bhṛgau ratrigata-ghaṭī 1 pala 1 samaye siṃhalagnodaye Śivājī ro janma².

1. Phāguṇa=Phālguna

2. Śivājī ro janma=Śivājī's birth

The Sontal Outbreak in Bhagalpur

Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A.

The story of the Sontal Insurrection is an important episode in the history of the administrative growth of the Bhagalpur District under British regime. It may be looked upon as marking the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. Besides the local and the parochial outlook attached to it, it commands an universal interest. It synchronised with the creation of a new administrative division called the "Sontal Parganas" specially adapted to the needs and the social customs prevailing among the backward race called the Sontals. The story of the part played by the Hon'ble Company's troops in suppressing the rebellion and their doings also serves as a link to the general conspectus of the deeds of the old Presidential army of Bengal.

Mr. W. W. Hunter in his "*Annals of Rural Bengal*" has already covered a small portion of the ground. In dealing with the rural history of the aboriginal Hill-men of Beerbhoom, he has devoted some portion of his work to the Sontal Insurrection. Though his narrative is mainly concerned with the Beerbhoom Sontals, it has, nevertheless, got some bearing on our subject-matter, for the insurrection of the Beerbhoom Sontals is intimately connected with the outbreak of the Sontals of the Bhagalpur District. A cognate race as the two were, the Sontals of Beerbhoom and Bhagalpur, defied the Company's authority at one and the same time and for similar reasons. It may, therefore, be said that, the histories of the Sontal outbreak in the districts of Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom form the component parts of one main story.

The writer of these pages, while working at the official records of the Bihar and Orissa Province, chanced to come upon a number of papers dealing with the Sontal Insurrection

of Bhagalpur. These papers, it may here be remarked, are not complete by themselves, the intermittent gaps and omissions in chronological dates and events proving that some of them have been lost and are now missing. The present paper deals with a summary of 125 selected records which throw a flood of light on the causes of the rebellion, its gradual development, the attempt made by the ruling authorities to meet with the situation and other allied matters.

The District of the Sontal Parganas forms the southern portion of the Bhagalpur Division. It is
Sontal Parganas: bounded on the north by Bhagalpur and its boundary and Purneah, on the east by Maldah, Murshidabad and Beerbhoom, on the south by Burdwan and Manbhum, and on the west by Hazaribagh and Bhagalpur.

Three distinct types of country are represented within the area of the Sontal Parganas. On the east of the District, there stretches a hilly country extending for about 100 miles to the west. At the point where this belt of hilly country terminates, there opens towards further west a rolling country of long ridges with intervening depressions. A flat alluvial country represents the third type. The Rajmahal Hills, occupying the eastern portion of the District, are the most important ranges in the District. Their maximum elevation is 2000 ft. above the sea-level, and their average elevation is considerably less. The characteristic feature of the northern portion of the range is the Great Central Valley.

"The distribution of races in the Sontal Parganas is traceable rather to the controlling action of the Government than to the geographical position of the District or even to its physical conformation." The Colony of Paharias, occupying the Rajmahal Hills, is cut off from the main body of the aboriginal races further west by the great Aryan line of communication between Bengal and Bihar. Since the enclosure of the *Damin-i-koh* or the Great Central Valley to the north of Rajmahal Hills in 1832, a stream of Sontal immigrants poured into the district from Hazaribagh and Manbhoom and occupied the valleys and slopes of the hills. The remaining inhabitants

of the District are either Bengali immigrants from the South-East or Hindustanians from the North-West.

The Sontals belong to the dark races of India, and "are noticeable for a great vagueness in the chiselling of the features, a general tendency to roundness of outline, a blubbery style of face." Caring little for permanently locating themselves, the Sontals are not indifferent to personal comfort, and are careful in the construction of their homesteads, formed of mud walls, well-raised plinths and snug and cosy verandahs. The earliest Sontali traditions point out that the original home of the Sontals was among the Himalayas. But some authorities are of opinion that the mountain home referred to in the legends was situated in the South instead of in the North. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, in describing the hill tribes of Bhagalpur and its vicinity, makes no mention of the Sontals. The Sontal settlements that now border on the Ganges or skirt the Rajmahal Hills are readily traced back to more Southern Districts. The Sontals colonised parts of Hazaribagh District and parts of Beerbhoom at a very remote period, and it is chiefly by migrations from these colonies that the modern Sontal Parganas has been formed.

The area of land designated as *Damin-i-koh* was in the year 1823, declared to be the property of Government, and all cultivable lands were for some time reserved for the native mountaineer settlers. The Sontals soon made their appearance from the neighbouring countries and effected a settlement in the *Damin-i-Koh*. In 1830 the Government gave their sanction to the settlement of the Sontals, and issued orders protecting them against undue exactions by the Government grantees of the Hill-lands.

In 1827 a Regulation was passed by the Government of Bengal. The Regulation not only provided a special form of trial for the Hill-aborigines and invested the Magistrate of Bhagalpur with summary powers for the adjustment of certain civil cases, but it also empowered the said Magistrate to try summarily all claims not exceeding Rs. 100/- made by

Settlement in
Damin-i-Koh.

Regulation of
1827, and
its effects.

or against any of the Hill-people. But the provisions of this enactment, in the opinion of the Sadar Court, were applicable only to the Hill-tribes and not to the immigrant Sontal settlers in the Hills.

In November, 1836, the management of the Revenue administration of the *Damin-i-Koh* devolved upon Mr. Pontet, and he was placed under the orders of the Collector of Bhagalpur. This newly appointed Officer was instructed by his superior to afford protection to the old Sontal settlers and to provide facilities to the fresh immigrants. Under Pontet's administration the Sontals flocked to take possession of the lands and the number of Sontal villages increased with astonishing rapidity and with it the Government revenue. It should be borne in mind that the increase in Government revenue was not due to any over assessment but entirely to increased cultivation. There were cases, however, of illegal cesses being levied by Pontet's underlings which added considerably to the payment made by the settlers and against these illegal exactions the people had no protection.

No evidence is to be found in support of the opinion that the origin of the outbreak is to be traced to religious fanaticism alone. The fanatical spirit was surely not the originating cause, but when once the sense of injury unredressed was followed by a resolution to resort to violence, that spirit was then appealed to with a view to give increased life and energy to the movements.

Nor is the origin of the insurrection to be traced to the misconduct of the Railway officials. It is not unlikely that in some instances the Railway officials and contractors had been guilty of acts of ill-treatment and oppression towards the Sontals which tended to quicken their sense of injury and to aggravate their feelings of resentment. But the grievances of which the Sontals

Pontet made the head of Revenue administration of *Damin-i-Koh* 1836.

Results of Pontet's administration.

Causes of the outbreak.

Fanatical spirit a secondary cause.

Misconduct of Railway officials quickened the sense of injury.

of resentment.

most bitterly complained were to be traced back to a period long antecedent to the commencement of the Railway.

The origin of the outbreak is to be traced to the complicated legal system prevalent in the country, to the unmitigated dishonesty and extortion on the part of the money-lenders, and to the various acts of oppression of the native revenue collectors.

Originating causes,

(a) legal system.

The Sontals are industrious and hard-working, frank and manly, peaceable and unoffensive, a simple and unlettered people who can appreciate none but the simplest mode of adjusting a disputed demand and are utterly unable to contend for their rights with any hope of success, under complicated legal system. Under the Regulation of 1827, the native of the hills had an access to the Magistrate for the summary adjustment of his case, while the Sontals were taken to the court of the Munsif, there to have his own case conducted in conformity with the complicated code of procedure, the rules of which they could not follow and the forms of which they could not comprehend. Further,

(b) behaviour of the money-lenders.

the transactions between the money-lender and the Sontal appear to have usually commenced with a small advance of money made by the former to the latter. Once on the money-lender's books, extrication from his grasp appears to have been all but impossible for the Sontal. The debtor made payments but his debt was never diminished and, when he resisted further demands, the Munsif's Court was resorted to. As a result, judgment was given against the Sontal and he was a ruined man. There were occasional complaints

(c) and the native revenue collectors.

constant complaints against the money-lenders of demands of exorbitant interest, of injury to crops by the cattle of the creditors, of a change to the detriment of the Sontals in the size of measures and of other illegal exactions. No doubt, Pontet made some ineffectual attempts to check the state of things. He generally sent for the exacting money-lenders and warned them against

oppressing the Sontals on pain of being driven out of the *Damin*. But complaints preferred against the revenue officials were ultimately hushed up and those guilty official underlings never brought to book. Besides, the complaints made by the Sontals to the Magistrate of Bhagalpur were struck off the file because the peon's fees and the subsistence money for witnesses were not deposited. All these led the Sontals to believe that there was no redress for the wrongs he had suffered and no remedy from the evils from which he sought protection.

In the months of May and June 1854, six dacoities were committed by the oppressed Sontals in the houses of the money-lenders residing in the *Damin*. It was a matter of great consideration that these dacoities were committed by men of the Sontal caste, who generally speaking were remarkable for their quiet mode of life. These dacoities were not the unaided work of a mere gang, but were undoubtedly committed with the counsel, consent or connivance of the Sontal population generally.

The higher officials concurred in the opinion that, measures be at once taken up to put a stop to this spirit of angry discontent among the Sontals. Mr. **Recommendation of measures by Mr. Browne.** G. F. Browne, the then Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, recommended to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal the following two alternative proposals: (1) the provisions of Regulation I. 1827, be extended so as to make them applicable to the Sontals in common with the hill tribes, so that the former be subjected to the Magistrate and not the Civil Court for sums not exceeding Rs. 100/-, and (2), Mr. Pontet who was familiar to the conditions of the Sontals and who commanded their confidence be appointed as the Deputy Collector as well as the Munsif within the limits of the *Damin*.

Though either of these measures was inadequate to the exigencies of the case, it was a matter of great surprise that so obvious a measure of expediency as the extension of the simple legal procedure was not adopted and that the alternative was preferred by the Provincial Head.

The appointment of Mr. Pontet to be the Munsif of *Damin* was so far judicious that it gave jurisdiction in cases not exceeding Rs. 3000/- to an officer appointed in whom the Sontals appeared to have placed their confidence. But the Court of Mr. Pontet would be still the Court of the Munsif bound by the same rules and compelled to follow the same complicated procedure as the Court of any other Munsif, while Mr. Pontet's decisions were liable to appeal to a distant tribunal, a tedious and expensive process, which the wealthy money-lender would not fail to put in operation against the indigent Sontal.

A petition was presented to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division ten months before the insurrection broke out (29th August, 1854). It purported to speak on behalf of the Sontal tribe, setting forth their grievances and reminding the Commissioner of repeated but ineffectual applications they had made for redress. The petition in question finally stated that, the condition of the Sontals was such as to compel them to leave the country unless they obtained the protection which they sought. The tone and the language of the petition seemed to indicate that the petitioners still hoped for redress and protection at the hands of the Government. The Commissioner's order on this petition was dated 19th April, 1855, or nearly 8 months after the date of its presentation. He then sent it for suitable orders to the Collector, the Collector sent it to the Magistrate, and the Magistrate was making preparations for an enquiry which was cut short by the announcement that the Sontals were in open insurrection. It seems very probable that, whatever amount of provocation may have subsisted the insurrection would never have occurred had those complaints been properly investigated and had prompt and vigorous action been taken to redress the wrongs they set forth, and there is too much room for the remark that nothing was done which calculated to allay the feelings of the disaffected and to prevent the crisis that ensued.

The insurrection, it is reported, was commenced by a person who called himself the *Thakoor* or *Soubah*. He came from the South to a place called Burhait situated in the centre of the Rajmahal hills, and summoned the Sontal population by passing word from village to village to come to see him; accordingly a large number of Sontals went and paid their respects to him. The dawk of 8th July, 1855, conveyed intelligence from the Darogha of thanah Dighee about the assemblage of the Sontals for seizing the country. Some four days after, the dawk Munshee of Burrio (S.W. of Rajmahal) and Mohurrir of Thanah Dighee informed the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur that, the Police Darogha (Mahesh Dutt) and several of his men, amounting to nine in all, who went to quell the insurrection had been killed by six to seven thousand Sontals who were proceeding to Rajmahal. It transpired that, greater number collected from Beerbhoom, Bankura, Chota-Nagpur and Hazaribagh, and they declared that a *parwana* had fallen from heaven giving them permission to take possession of the country and that they were collected for avenging punishment inflicted on their comrades concerned in the last years' dacoities committed on the Bengalee money-lenders who had oppressed them. They further complained that, their comrades had been punished while nothing was done to the money-lenders whose exactions had compelled the Sontals to take the law into their own hands. They, then, commenced raising taxes, declared to set up a government of their own, and demanded the darogha, who had gone there to quell the outbreak of the Sontals, to compel every Bengalee to pay a tax of Rupees Five, and, also, to deliver up to their hands every Bengalee residing in the district. Kanhoo, the eldest brother of the four Sontal *Thakoor*s or chiefs, at first received the Darogha's party in a civil manner and then taunted the Darogha for his having come to apprehend them. But the Darogha, to his credit, behaved with temper and discretion,

and he refused to deliver up to their hands the money-lenders, upon which, the Sontals bound the Darogha and his party and knocked them on the head. The insurgents then spread over the country and their brethren of the same race located in the villages outside the *Damin-i-koh* combining with them wherever they went. At first they contented themselves with simple pillage, telling the people that the rule of the Company was at an end and the reign of their *Soubah* had begun—but ere long they began to massacre the peaceable inhabitants, women and children as well as men. They, then, plundered the villages between Burrio and Dighee, within thirty miles from Bhagalpur, and advanced on Rajmahal and the Divisional headquarter itself.

On receipt of these informations, Mr. H. C. Richardson, the officiating Magistrate, and Mr. Pontet, the Superintendent of *Damin-i-koh*, reached Rajmahal on the 6th July. Major F. W. Burroughs, commanding the Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, was asked to despatch of detachment to the scene of disturbance. Orders were also issued to the Hill Sardars or Chiefs and the Zamindars of the neighbouring parganas to aid the authorities in suppressing the insurrection.

The rebels, who had hitherto spread over the hills *via* Burrio to Rajmahal, stopped all *dawks*, so much so that, on the 10th July the *dawk* from eastward was more than thirty hours over due. To avoid the insurgents, measures were now adopted for having the *dawk* through Colgong and Sicree to Rajmahal. On the afternoon of the 10th July the Sontals arrived at Pyalapoor, a village situated at a distance of 11 miles to the east of Colgong. They also spread about Muneharee and moved in bands of 1000 each between the hills and Colgong. Several villages were plundered, one burnt, and three persons murdered by the insurgents near Pyalapoor. Besides, thousands of armed Sontals proceeded from the South and South-west. The Jamadar of Pyalapoor

Mr. Richardson
and Mr. Pontet
reach Rajmahal.

Stopping of
dawks.

Insurgents spread
to Pyalapoor and
Muneharee.

deserted his post, and there being a general panic in the country the people fled away.

Major Burroughs, with 160 rank and file, reached Colgong on the morning of the next day (11th July), but his detachment being deemed insufficient the officer commanding the troops at

Dinapore was requested to send additional troops with all practicable despatch to aid the Major.

Mr. Chapman joins him. Then, Mr. C. E. Chapman, the Assistant to

Magistrate, proceeded to the Major's camp for exercising civil authority and pacifying and conciliating the Sontals, assuring them of favour and protection if they would conduct themselves in a peaceable manner, and of redress and justice if they had any cause of grievance.

Major Burroughs' detachment being too small to be divided was kept in one party and also in readiness to oppose any parties in the neighbourhood or to intercept

A guard of Hill Rangers from Monghyr reach Bhagalpur for its defence. their proceeding to Bhagalpur. As to the protection of the Divisional headquarter, the Magistrate of Monghyr despatched a guard of Hill Rangers, consisting of one Subedar,

2 Havildars, 2 Naiks and 38 rank and file to

Lieut. F. N. Fagan, commanding Troops, at Bhagalpur.

Increasing in degree and extent, the outbreak assumed a serious aspect every day. The rebels in-

Seriousness of the outbreak. fested the high-road between Shahabad and between Sicreegully and Pointy, thus cutting off all communications with Rajmahal.

There was difficulty in obtaining intelligence of the happenings. The most expeditious mode of transmitting letters and communicating with the Presidency was either by water or via Patna. The Sontals who at first plundered villages had commenced murdering. On the 13th July, some six or eight Railway officials drove the Sontals from the village near Pointy, but later, they were themselves overpowered. One gentleman was severely wounded with an arrow on the foot and another in the stomach. Then the rebels returned to the villages from which they had been driven out and murdered

25 women and children. Several other massacres, besides these, had been perpetuated in the south, on the next day (14th July), a village within a cos of Pyalapoor was looted by the rebels. Major Burroughs' party started off 100 strong, and after a fatiguing march of three cos came up to a village from which the scoundrels had beaten a retreat after having murdered 16 men. Afterwards, the Sontals

Assemblage of Sontals at different places.

assembled in large numbers in different places; 500 Sontals collected at Hattycond and 400 at Pokrapara: about 1500 assembled between Kendowa and Purgadee, a distance of about three miles; 1000 at Kowayam and Dhoomputtra; some 1500 between Amdeha and Chorkhalee.

Considering the very extensive tract of the country, its jungly nature, and bad roads, the 150 men forming Major Burroughs' party could only act on the defensive. With a view to strengthening Burroughs' forces, the authorities requested the Magistrate of Purneah to substitute *Burkundazes* for the sepoy of the Purneah guards and to send the latter to the Major. The Magistrate was further asked to hire on the part of the Government as many elephants as might be necessary not only for the troops that the Magistrate was sending but also 10 or 12 more for the use of Burroughs.

Now, the rainy season having set in, conciliatory means were being tried and the Hill chiefs being influenced. A proclamation was issued to the Sontals pointing out to them on suitable terms the ingratitude and folly of their conduct and assuring them of the desire of the Government to redress any grievances, as well as pardon and protection to all except the ring-leaders. Mr. Chapman, the Assistant Magistrate of Bhagalpur, had been charged not to use force except as the last resort. But the insurgents, on the other hand, refused to hold any communication with the authorities and had put the Government at defiance. It seemed as if it was only the forbearance of the authorities that

Ineffective conciliatory measures during rainy season.

had made them daring and outrageous. There was the necessity of reading them a severe lesson and nothing less than the introduction of martial law would serve the purpose. Thinking that further delay and hesitation would but aggravate the evil, the authorities made up their mind to use force in order to bring the insurgents to their senses if they did not show any disposition to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. The troops now proceeded to the nearest point where the insurgents were to be found, and when the latter did not lay down their arms on being called to do so, they were at once attacked, and if they were found in the act of murder or pillage they were treated as rebels.

The detachment of Major Burroughs came upon a body of armed Sontals near Pointy at about 2 o'clock P.M. on the 16th July, but met with a reverse. The muskets got wet from heavy rain and were of no use. The rebels, on the other hand, fought with a kind of battle-axe and shot with hand bows and bows used with their feet. Quarter-Master Sergeant Braddon, the railway official, some native officers and about 25 sepoys were killed; the number of the wounded was not known. After the defeat, the detachment retired to Pointy whence it proceeded on board towards Colgong.

The Sontal population had spread from Rajmahal to the South, a distance of about 70 miles, and about as far from the East to the West; their brethren from Beerbhoom and Hazaribagh flocked in thousands, and the flames of insurrection spread out. The explanation for the outrages committed by the rebels was that a *perwannah* or warrant had fallen down from the heaven to say that the country was theirs and the rule of British Government was at an end. Several Europeans had been killed, hundreds of villages plundered and all railway operations were stopped. The British force badly felt the need of elephants, and it was almost impossible for the troops to move without them.

Meanwhile, at the requisition made by the authorities, there arrived by water on the 17th July from Dinapore a detachment, 40th Regiment N.I., under Major Shuckburgh. It consisted of 9 European Officers, 2 European Sergeants, 1 Native Sergeant, 10 Native Officers, 20 Havildars, 10 drummers, 500 rank and file with 2 Quarter-Masters. At first, the station of Bhagalpur was quiet and no insurgents came to that direction. The scouts had been stationed at all the ghats to the East, South-East and South to bring information. But soon the insurrection spread towards Bhagalpur. Several villages, viz. Barkope, Dhurma and Dhoorea, situated at a distance of twenty miles from Bhagalpur or the road leading to it from the south-east were flocked every hour with tales of fresh atrocities, and the panic was intense. A detachment of Hill Rangers under Lieut. Fagan, consisting of 1 Sergeant Major, 3 Native Officers, 5 Havildars, 10 Naiks, 119 Sepoys and 54 recruits guarded the jail, the treasury and the *cutcheries* at Bhagalpur. In consequence of the serious apprehensions being entertained of the Sontals coming to Bhagalpur and the force in the station under Fagan being deemed insufficient for defence Major Shuckburgh deemed it advisable to remain at Bhagalpur. It was further arranged that Lieut. Rubie with a detachment of 200 men would proceed to Colgong in steamer "Benares". This detachment required the following supply of provisions per day : Attah—2 mds. 20 seers : Ghee—12 seers 8 chataks : Salt—6 seers, 4 chataks : Molasses—1 md. : Boot—1 md. : Wood—10 mds. : Vegetables etc. In the present state of the country through which the army was to pass they would find no bazars or provisions of any kind, and it was therefore necessary for them to take the bazar along with them : and, in order to preserve their health in the interior of the District the troops did not drink any water that had not been previously boiled, for, the purest looking water contained seeds of disease and death.

Arrival at
Bhagalpur of 40
Regiment N.I.
under Shuckburgh

Insurrection
spread towards
Bhagalpur.

Detachment under
Fagan guard the
jail etc.

There was no saying to what extent the Sontals might devastate the District unless subdued promptly. The blow must be struck immediately, for the *Damin-i-Koh* and the country to the south of Bhagalpur were not then particularly unhealthy, but they would be specially so after the rains.

Prompt measures
needed against
the Sontals.

Consequently, the authorities at Bhagalpur requested Major General Lloyd, commanding Dinapore Division to despatch an infantry, an irregular cavalry and a few howitzers. The Secretary to the Government of Bengal was written to for the supply of more troops by steamer. Mr. F. Vincent, the Deputy Magistrate of Barh, was asked to proceed to Bhagalpur and place himself under the Commissioner's orders to aid in quelling the insurrection. The exigencies of public service under the present circumstances made it necessary that every available sepoy was placed at the disposal of the officer commanding Bhagalpur and the *burkandazes* substituted for the guard of

A guard of
ghatwals
entertained.

Hill Rangers on duty at the *cutcherry*. A guard of 1000 *ghatwals* at a monthly charge of Rs. 3050/- was entertained to watch the passes of the Monghyr District. This organisation

of the *ghatwals* a cognate tribe of the Sontals had a very useful effect both in fixing their allegiance and that of the neighbouring tribes in the south-west of the Bhagalpur District and possibly animating the Zamindars themselves to resist the ravages, who being encouraged by the present impunity, were plundering and murdering at the foot of their hills.

In the absence of the Magistrate and the Assistant Magistrate from the station, Mr. R. N. Shore was invested with magisterial powers. He was not to take charge of the Magistrate's office—the current duties of which were performed by a Moulvie, but he (Shore) was to assist the Commissioner in keeping peace.

Magisterial
powers on Mr.
R. N. Shore.

Intelligence of fresh outrages still poured in. But panic was much alleviated by the arrival of Mr. Rubie's march to Colgong. 40th Regiment N.I., at Bhagalpur on the morning of the 17th July. On the arrival of Lieut. Rubie

at Colgong with 200 men of 40th Regiment N.I., the post of Mr. Rubie was taken up by Mr. Burroughs who

Mr. Burroughs returned to Bhagalpur. returned to Bhagalpur on the morning of the 19th July with his detachment of the Hill Rangers on the Megna (Capt. Burton was its Commanding Officer). The same day, a small

detachment of Hill Rangers consisting of about 40 or 50 men under the command of Lieut. Gordon embarked on board

Lieut. Gordon proceeded to Rajmahal. the steamer to proceed to Rajmahal to the relief of the Magistrate. But the operations against the Sontals were crippled for want of irregular cavalry. So the authorities directed

a troop or squadron of the 12th Irregular Cavalry at Segowlee to be held in readiness to proceed to Bhagalpur. The Magistrate of Purneah brought 50 men of the Hill Rangers (belonging to the Station guards) to Caragolah Ghat with the intention of crossing them over to Pyntee, but on learning what had occurred at the latter place on the 16th July, he sent them up by boat to Colgong. Major Burroughs was given the power to proceed against the rebels on his own judgment and without delay or waiting for order from civil power.

The rising of the Sontals now became very general in the district. Villages were plundered and burnt near Colgong, and fresh atrocities were perpetuated. It was truly lamentable

The Sontal rising became general. that almost within the sight of a force (400 men) under Major Burroughs command at Colgong, village after village had been burnt

and the inhabitants cruelly murdered without a shot being fired in their defence, or without the Major's making any attempt to act on the offensive. The outrageous conduct of the Sontals must not have been tolerated for a moment, and something should have been done and that immediately to establish the prestige of the company's troops and British valour, for, should their inactivity have led the Sontals to suppose that they did not think themselves strong enough to attack them, their insurrection would have become far more general and alarming than it was at the

moment. The authorities, it may be regretted, were not above reproach. They lacked in agility, vigour and farsightedness. The Magistrate had not been in a position sooner to take active measures against the insurgents, and if the men of the Hill Rangers, who were sent off by land from Bhagalpur, could have been despatched by water, the Magistrate might have taken the offensive instead of being confined to merely defensive measures. Again, vigorous measures ought to have been taken to keep open the communication by land between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur. There was very little reason to be apprehensive about Bhagalpur itself. It was unlikely that the Sontals would attack it, and if they did, enough had already been seen to make it clear that the defence of any place against their attacks was a matter of no anxiety, and might be safely entrusted to a small force. If it was to be feared that any vigorous measures of offence from several quarters combined would be necessary to put down the insurrection, and if those who were acquainted with the hills deemed it practicable in that season, the Central Valley of the *Damin-i-koh* should have been swept from one end to the other. If more troops were necessary to do that, the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division had been authorised to make a requisition for an additional wing of Native Infantry Regiment from Dinapore, or for one company of Europeans who could be held at the station as a reserve so as to enable the whole of the 40th Regiment N.I. and the Hill Rangers to be engaged in offensive measures against the insurgents. If Mr. Toogood, who with two companies of 7th Regiment N.I. routed 3 to 4 thousand insurgents at Mahespore on the 15th July and was intending to make an attack upon Burhait, understood to be the headquarters of the rebels, had been able to communicate with Mr. Richardson, the Magistrate, and if the latter had been in a position to co-operate with him, the best efforts might be hoped from the combined movements.

Meanwhile, Pontet and Richardson used every means to encourage the Hill men who had no sympathies whatever with the Sontals, and as their services as guides and pioneers and

advanced guards were obviously of greatest use to the Troops, no effort was wanting to confirm their allegiance if any symptom of its wavering had really appeared, and substantial rewards were assured to them for any service they rendered.

However, the insurrection having assumed all the characteristic of a very extensive and most fearful rebellion, the

Divisional authorities outlawed the Sontals, proclaiming them as rebels and declaring them to be amenable to martial law if found with arms (18th July). Besides, large rewards were offered for the apprehension of the insurgent chiefs, viz., for the principal

chief Rs. 10,000/- for each of the *Diwans*, supposed to be about 3 or 4 in number, Rs. 5,000/-; for each of the minor chiefs Rs. 1000/-. While the proclamation sanctioned the destruction of the rebels, it enjoined that their families should be spared. Henceforth, the military no longer required the presence of the civil power to enable them to act against the rebels, and the Assistant Magistrate's duties in the camp were confined simply to aiding in obtaining information and in furnishing supplies and carriage.

But the Government of Bengal refused to give their sanction to this proclamation on the ground that it was illegal, and ordered for its recall and cancellation. The martial law could only be proclaimed under Regulation X of 1804, and no declaration of martial law could be requisite in order to enable the population to defend themselves by force, and if there should be any doubt in the minds of the people on that score it might be explained to them, they were quite authorised to use force against armed plunderers, and if necessary, to kill those who assailed them. The Government also reduced the reward to one half, because, they supposed that the rewards were quite beyond what was reasonable or what was necessary for the object in view.

But it may, nevertheless, be urged that extreme cases require extreme measures, and that if the Divisional authority

could have communicated more rapidly with the Presidency, he would certainly have to wait for instructions before he ventured to issue so important a document, but the case admitted of no delay.

**Defence of the
Commissioner's
conduct.**

The accounts which were hourly brought in of more villages plundered, and the in-offensive inhabitants, men, women and children inhumanly butchered in cold blood and in the most brutal manner by these lawless savages, were perfectly horrifying. (Women with their legs cut off, children dragged from their parents' arms and hacked to pieces before their faces etc.). If these frightful enormities were to continue till troops could be brought from a distance to quell the insurrection in a regular manner without the people being able to strike a blow in defence of their lives, the whole country would be devastated, the loss to Government would be incalculable and years would elapse before tranquillity was restored. The Government would have sooner or later (perhaps too late) found necessary to issue a proclamation not very dissimilar to the one that was recalled. Further, in fixing the amount of the reward at so large a sum, the Commissioner had regard not only to the enormity of the offence, and to the fearful loss of life and property which the insurrection was occasioning, but also to the enormous loss of revenue and the immense cost to which the Government would be put in the march of troops etc. and he calculated that, the apprehension of the chiefs would in comparison be cheaply purchased for the sums he received or even double.

We now turn to other incidents. The rebels soon met with defeat at the hands of Company's troops. On the 20th July, 200 men of the 7th Regiment after three long and one forced or double march came upon 5000 of the rebels near Pakour and routed them completely killing great numbers and without the loss of a single man.

**Rebels defeated
at Pakour.**

Meanwhile, at Rajmahal, the Magistrate of Bhagalpur, had only 120 men of the 7th Regiment N.I. and 38 men of the Hill Rangers which he considered utterly insufficient, and he sent

**Requisition of
Troops from
Rajmahal.**

Hooghly, Krishnanagar, Burdwan, Jessore and Rajshahi, and they were asked to purchase elephants if necessary, and where they were hired or lent, to guarantee compensation in the event of loss or injury. As a result of all these vigorous efforts for procuring elephants, 38 of them were procured and 12 more were expected. The greater part of the owner of the elephants did not consent to receive any hire. They preferred to lend them to the Government only desiring that they should be well fed and taken care of during the period of their employment. For elephants of that category there was one rate of allowance per elephant for the Mahaut's wages and food. The rate fixed was at Rs. 30 per mensem for elephants over 7 ft. in height, and Rs. 24 for those under that standard. The Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad desired to bear all the expenses of the elephants which he had furnished.

Reports now came that the Hill Rangers ran away from the insurgents. There was no reason whatever for suspecting treachery on the part of the Hill Rangers and the reverse which those young and untired troops met with before that contemptible enemy was an unhappy contretemps which though little creditable to the corps, did not preclude the hope of their good services on the next opportunity, nor was there up to that time any sign or probability of the Hill men having joined their natural enemies the Sontals.

In the opinion of the Government of Bengal it is no doubt a matter to be regretted that of the 40th Regiment N.I. half were retained at Bhagalpur and the other half sent away to Colgong, but no troops at all was sent to the relief of Rajmahal. Troops had been most urgently needed at Rajmahal, while to detain, at Bhagalpur 250 men (from the 17th to 25th July) had been a complete waste of power. Bhagalpur itself had been in no danger, and that 100 men would in any case have been ample for its protection. The excessive alarm and anxiety which the Commissioner of Bhagalpur had allowed to escape him in his communications to the civil authorities at Dinapore bear

Reverses of the
Hill Rangers.

The Government
of Bengal charge
the Commissioner
of Bhagalpur for
his alarm
and anxiety

no justification. He had entertained an exaggerated idea of the danger to Bhagalpur itself, and if measures so active and vigorous had been taken from Bhagalpur side as had been taken from the Murshidabad side, where the civil authorities had not hesitated to seek out the insurgents with a small force of 200 men, the Sontals would before this have been driven back into the jungles and much of the destruction and bloodshed have been saved.

In reply to the charge that the retention of a portion of the 40th Regiment at Bhagalpur was ill conceived, the Commissioner wrote, in defence of his conduct, a letter to the Lieutenant Governor stating that, there were then only 50 men of the 13th Regiment left for the defence of Bhagalpur, while large bodies of insurgents were destroying life and property within 20 miles of the station, and there were plenty of bad characters in the neighbourhood quite ready to join the marauders. The detention was further occasioned by the want of elephants without which it was impossible for the troop to take the field. Further, it was a great mistake to suppose that Bhagalpur was not in danger. On the contrary, the danger at one time was most alarming though much was not said about it and the European residents used their best endeavours to restore confidence among the panic stricken natives by behaving as if there was no cause of apprehension.

There was, however, a fresh supply of forces from Dinapore. On the 25th July, two detachments, 13th Regiment N.I. and 40th Regiment N.I. came down to Bhagalpur by water. The former consisted of 2 Captains, 2 subalterns, 6 native officers, 18 Havildars, 18 Naiks, 6 Drummers and 800 sepoys, and the latter of, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 Native officers, 4 Havildars, 4 Naiks, 1 Drummer and 80 sepoys. On their arrival, the 300 men of the 13th Regiment remained at Bhagalpur, and Major Shuckburgh with the Head Quarters of the 40th Regiment proceeded to join Burroughs.

Major General Lloyd, the officer commanding the Division

at Dinapore, declined to comply with the Commissioners' requisition for Irregular cavalry, because from his (Lloyd) knowledge of the country between Colgong and Rajmahal he was convinced of the inutility of sending such troops particularly at that season of the year. The Commissioner, in his reply, concurred in opinion that Irregular cavalry could act with advantage in that District at that season of the year, and that, if the troops then engaged against the Sontals suffered from want of Irregular cavalry the responsibility would not rest with him (Commissioner).

Meanwhile, some minor changes were effected with regard to the duties of the officials. Lala Sheo Sahoy was appointed to be the *Sarbarakar* on the part of the Government for procuring supplies (23rd July). This measure had the effect of relieving the Magistrate's office from a good deal of trouble, for it would be the Lala's duties to see that requisite supplies were ready and that the Collector would now have only one man to deal with instead of three or four. Mr. J. Decosta, the Munsif of Bhagalpur, was entrusted with the charge of the carriage department, and was to officiate as the Assistant to the Commissioner, in the place of Mr. Glass, who was on leave of absence, but only on probation. Mr. R. N. Shore was appointed as the Assistant to the Commissioner; Moulvie Saiyid Irfan Ali, the law officer, was to take charge of the current duties of the Magistrate's office. Mr. W. J. Money (Civil Service, Monghyr) was appointed to accompany the next detachment to be sent to the interior for the purpose of aiding them in obtaining supplies, carriage and information and exercise Magisterial powers in the neighbourhood of the camp. Mr. C. E. Chapman would officiate as the Joint-Magistrate of Bhagalpur and Mr. C. H. Barnes would be the commissary to troops engaged in the vicinity of Colgong. The latter was also invested with the necessary civil power to enable him to act in a Magisterial capacity in all cases of emergency.

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur now deemed it incumbent on him to issue a proclamation on the 23rd July, declaring that all persons who joined the rebels or behaved like them

might be treated in the same manner as if they were Sontals.

**Issue of a
proclamation,
23rd July.**

The issue of these proclamations were absolutely necessary for without them the people did not dare oppose the rebels. Further, the effect produced by them was excellent in rousing the latent energies of the people and inspiring them with self confidence and courage to oppose the progress of the insurrection towards the southern parts of the District where it was most difficult to send troops. A commissariat officer was sent from Dinapore to Bhagalpur with a suitable staff in order to arrange for the Troops being properly supplied. There was, however, no want of supplies. The Zamindars furnished them readily and eagerly, but there was a great want of an organized bazar establishment.

**Encounter be-
tween Burroughs
and the
insurgents.
The latter's
defeat.**

Major Burroughs did not attack the Sontals on the 22nd but waited for them to attack him, and that when they did not do so he returned to his camp without striking a blow: the Major did not contemplate any forward and aggressive movement against them till his detachment was strengthened by additional troops. Ultimately, he marched against the rebels on the morning of the 24th July, but did not get at them. After their return a very large number of Sontals attacked the camp at about 2 p.m. when they were driven back with the loss of 250 being killed. They then rallied and attacked the camp a second time when it was supposed that upwards of 100 rebels were killed along with a chief who rode on a *palki*. But none of the Government troops were wounded. The rebels, then, attacked the village within 6 or 7 miles of the Tirmohon on the Ganges, a little above Colgong. Under the circumstances, Major Shuckburgh with the whole of his party, about 300 men of the 40th Regiment, started in the steamer Megna for Colgong on the 25th July.

Now, Cap. Waterman with 300 men of the 13th Regiment N.I. left Dinapore reaching Bhagalpur at about 10 in the morning of the 25th July. Major Shuckburgh who was at

Bhagalpur immediately proceeded with the Head Quarter of the 40th Regiment N.I. by steamer Megna

Cap. Waterman to Colgong and marched from there to join reach Bhagalpur, Major Burroughs at Pyalapoor. Exclusive of 25th July.

the force employed at Rajmahal and the eastern face of the hill, the entire force that existed in the Bhagalpur District consisted of an artillery with 2 guns and 20 Europeans, the 13th Regiment N.I., the 40th Regiment N.I., another Native Infantry Regiment from Benares and the Hill Rangers. The authorities now deemed it their imperative duty to pass such orders as might ensure the prompt enforcement of vigorous measures against the rebels. They deeply regretted the necessity of their adopting such a course but the exigencies of public service admitted of no other alternative, for inaction then was equivalent to defeat and they were not only losing ground but credit. It was now necessary that the forces should be divided into parties of 300 men each, and sent against the rebels in different

Necessity of dividing the forces into parties.

directions. One detachment was much required at Rajmahal to enable the Magistrate there to adopt offensive instead of only defensive measures: a similar one to the South-west of Bhagalpur near Barkope and Godda: while a third should enter the hills in the direction of Dighee so as to meet the troops entering the valley of the *Damin-i-koh* from Berhampore.

The position of the different forces as it then stood on the 25th July was as follows: Major Burroughs,

Position of different forces on the 25th July.

commanding the Hill Rangers with 200 men of the 40th Regiment N.I. was at Pyalapore. The Fouzdari Nazir Sheikh Azid Buksh remained with Burroughs, representing the civil power on all requisite occasions, and also procuring information for the Major. Major Shuckburgh with the Head Quarters and 380 Rank and file of the 40th Regiment N.I., proceeded from Bhagalpur by water to Tirmohon near Colgong on the 25th, marched on the 26th to Dighee, 12 miles due south of Colgong, and proceeded on the 27th to Dukyte and Lobundree, which

were about 12 miles further beyond Dighee in an E.S.E. direction. They were expected to be at Berio in the centre of the Hills on that day. Captain Francis and 250 men of the 13th Regiment N.I. marched on the morning of the 25th July towards Amarpur and Bowsee to quell the insurrection which was very ripe in that quarter. Mr. W. J. Money, (Civil Service) was ordered to accompany the detachment of Cap. Francis, and his duties consisted in furnishing the troops with carriage and supplies and their commanding officer with information regarding the movements of the rebels and the best way of getting at them; if the insurgents did not lay down their arms immediately on his calling them to do so, the Troops might be directed to attack them; and if they were found in the act of murder or pillage they might without parley be treated as open rebels. His duty was also to restore confidence among the peaceable inhabitants of the District and to keep the commissioner regularly informed of all that passed.

It should here be noted that there was a great want of medical men in the army. The Hill Rangers had only a Native Doctor with them, and the detachment of the 40th Regiment with Major Burroughs was no better off.

Native Zamindars their good will towards the Government, but rendered help. It greatly reflects to the credit of the native Zamindars that they showed the utmost readiness in furnishing supplies which was a proof not only of the extreme anxiety to aid the troops employed in suppressing the insurrection.

The authorities, also, exerted themselves most energetically to inspire the people with confidence and in adopting measures for preserving the peace and preventing the insurrection spreading towards the West.

From the reports that were brought of the rebels, their number was estimated at 22,000, but this number was not collected in one spot but scattered over the face of the country. The Sontals were now in great force towards Mundar Bowsee; they were led on and excited to acts of aggression.

sion by the *Gwallahs* (cowherds), *Tellees* (oilmen) and other castes who supply them with intelligence, beat their drums, direct their proceedings and act as spies. The Blacksmiths supplied them with arrows and axes.

Till the 28th July Major Burroughs was at Pyalapoor doing nothing, but the party under Shuckburg had been active and successful, and the vigorous measures that he (Shuckburg) was adopting would have the most wholesome effect in

suppressing the insurrection in that part of the country towards Muneharee. It was on the morning of the 29th July that Lieut.-Col. Liptrap with 250 rank and file of the

42 Regiment N.I. arrived at Bhagalpur by steamer, and the same afternoon, there arrived the remainder of the 13th Regiment (300 men under command of Cap. Waterman

arrived at Bhagalpur on the 25th July) numbering about 350 men under the command of Major Bruere. There were also other changes in the dispositions of the troops.

The Head Quarters with 4 companies mustering about 250 rank and file of the 13th Regiment N.I. were to proceed immediately in the steamer *Lady Thackwell* to Rajmahal, and a similar detachment (about 150 men) of the same regiment was to proceed by water to Colgong to relieve Major Burroughs who would return with the Hill Rangers to Bhagalpur.

The Government considering it very desirable that prompt and speedy measures should be taken to put down the insurrection resolved upon placing the conduct of the operation entirely in the hands of Major General Lloyd, and he was requested to take immediate steps for dispersing and capturing the insurgents. The

civil officers of the several Divisions were henceforth to communicate with the Major-General and to afford him every information and assistance in carrying into effect the line of operations the Major-General might decide upon. The Military would act independently of the civil

power, and the nature of the military operations necessary for dispersing and capturing the insurgents and for putting down the rebellion would be entirely in the hands of the military commanders. The civil authorities had still power to act with the civil means at their disposal, and the only change made was in transferring the power each civil officer had over the movements of the troops to a Military officer of experience, who as far as the military are concerned is charged with the operations necessary for quelling the insurrection. The civil authorities would abstain from ordering out troops except in cases of sudden emergency, and they would keep the military officers, particularly the officer in command in the District fully informed on all points connected with the state of the country and the movements of the rebels and offer such suggestions as might occur to them connected with the general object in view. The Commissioner himself and all the civil officers subordinate to him, would, in every possible way aid and promote the operations of the Troops. The Commissioner's attention should be directed to procuring efficient and trustworthy guides for the troops, and to providing them with carriage and supplies. He would likewise take it upon himself to see that the officer in command of every detached body of troops (in case medical arrangements were not yet organised) was furnished with a few simple medicines, particularly genuine, with brief instructions as to the quantities to be given.

Meanwhile Major Shuckburg made another successful raid against the Sontals and destroyed a good deal of their property, but as the insurgents fled at the approach of the Troops instead of standing their ground, he could not, in the absence of Cavalry, get near enough to attack their persons with any effect. Again, Major Burroughs had, at last, pushed on his party in advance of Pyalapoor and attacked some of the Sontal villages. At daybreak on the morning of the 29th July. **Shuckburg's successes.** Cap. W. S. Sherwill and 150 sepoys of the 40th Regiment, N.I., under command of Lieut. Cahill made a successful detour, in a N.E. direction from the camp of Dighee, during which

Sherwill and Cahill's detour in Sontal villages.

they destroyed 12 Sontal villages full of plunder. At Bulbudr they found the indigo factory, which had been burnt by the Sontals, still mouldering. At Chora, the rebels, were armed and ready for action, but they fled towards the jungle at the approach of the Troops. The party succeeded in securing a large supply of grains for the use of the Troops and the poorer starving villagers who accompanied them, and in capturing a great quantity of loot chiefly in the shape of brass vessels and upwards of a thousand head of cattle, besides goat and sheep. They captured the notorious Gunput Gowallah, the head-spy and guide of the Sontals in those parts, and destroyed his eight houses full of loot, amongst other things English chair, a saddle, a lady's looking glass, a glass bowl, besides immense quantities of grain and good native clothes. Gunput was captured by the Invalid Sepoys who accompanied the troops and had been of greatest use. One of the sepoy was wounded while capturing the Gwallah. The detour was fatiguing as it lasted 9 hours over 19 miles of country, 16 of which were through wet rice fields.

Major Burroughs, on the other hand, moved on with his party on the 29th July to the village of Bhuggya, 6½ miles in a direct line S.E. from Pyalapoor but met with no opposition.

**Gordon and
Rubie's
detour.**

In the afternoon he sent a detachment of 75 Rank and file under Lieut. Gordon to destroy the Sontal villages of Kunhan and Munukatro (found full of plunder) situated to the west of his position, and the following morning (the 30th) he detached Lieut. Rubie with 100 men who made a detour to the N.W. and destroyed the villages of Bujayah Titereah, Buskudar, Rangookita, Harrialah, Kamuldeh and Bochai. Afterwards, Major Burrough's party having been relieved by Cap. Waterman returned to Bhagalpur.

Major Shuckburgh moved on from Dighee to Bissohurra, 4 miles eastwards, on the 1st August and sent Lieut. Burn with 50 men to destroy a Sontal village in the neighbourhood. Lieut. Burn had not gone half an hour before he was attacked by about 600 Sontals, who were routed, leaving

**Shuckburgh's
march, and
Burn's success.**

six dead and one shot through the knee, and about 15 more wounded. On the next day (2nd August) Major Shuckburgh went out in a S.E. direction through Kowrah and round the hill to Lohundea, destroying 15 Sontal villages by the way and clearing that part of the country of the rebels. The Major pitched his camp the next day at Lohunnea, and endeavoured to form a junction with Cap. Waterman.

Cap. Francis, in its turn was prevented moving from Bowsee on the 30th and 31st July by incessant heavy rain. On the 1st August they moved on Choon Kotee the vicinity of which they reached at 4 p.m. It was near sunset before they came upon the rebels, who advanced sounding their drums and performing extravagant gestures. The captain opened fire and killed and wounded about 15 of them. On his side two men were slightly wounded. Night coming on, the captain returned to his camp. Next morning, the attack was resumed, but the rebels had prudently beat a retreat, and when Capt. Francis arrived at Choonakotee about 7 a.m. on the 2nd Aug. he found it evacuated, but full of plunder of all descriptions. Having burnt the place the party intended to move on to Barkope. The captain had left the magazine and heavy baggage at Bowsee in charge of a guard of 40 men. The rebels came down and attacked them on the morning of the 3rd, but were driven off with the loss of seven of their number killed.

The main body of the rebels had left the centre of the hills and had proceeded to the S.W. in the direction of Pussye and Noni Haut. The insurrection seemed to be spreading westward, so that, it was to the South and South-west of Bhagalpur that troops should then be sent.

The detachment which accompanied the Magistrate of Murshidabad had entered the Hills from the Pakour side, burnt Bhugnadee, and taken possession of Burhait, the stronghold of the insurgents, who had deserted the *Daman-ikoh* and gone away to the S.W. towards Belputta, Noonihaut, Pussey etc., and it was in that direction,

Insurgents leave the centre of the hills and move towards the South-West.

Success of the Magistrate of Murshidabad.

therefore, that Troops were sent in support of Cap. Francis' detachment.

In the meantime, G. F. Burnes, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, was appointed to be an Assistant to Mr. Bidwell, who had been appointed a special commissioner for conducting the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection. To enable him to afford efficient assistance to Mr. Bidwell, Mr. Burnes was appointed to be a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector in the districts of Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom. During the period for which his appointment might last Mr. Burnes would receive the salary of Rs. 500 p.m.

Insurrection put down between Colgong and Rajmahal.

The insurrection was so far put down throughout the country lying between Colgong and Rajmahal that the dawk might with safety be established, but it was doubted whether it was possible to do so via Burrio for some little time as until the villages and bazar people returned to their houses the people would not be able to find either food or shelter. Meanwhile, there was nothing, except the flooded state of the

Establishment of dawk.

country, to prevent his establishing the dawk along the old line, that is via Pyalapoor, Terriagulle and Sicree to Rajmahal. It was necessary that both lines of Dawk between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, viz., the old one via Sicree and the new one via Burrio, should be kept up for some months, as there are detachments of Troops stationed on both roads and the public service would materially suffer if daily communication with them by means of the public dawk was not regularly kept up.

On the 4th August Mr. Pontet was at Berrio, in the centre of the Rajmahal Hills with the Head Quarters of the 13th Regiment, and Mr. H. C. Richardson was at Bhugnadee or Burhait. Major Shuckburgh was actively and successfully engaged in clearing the country of the insurgents in the vicinity of Lohundrea within the *Damin-i-Koh*, on the road-side from Dighee to Berrio. The commu-

Positins of Pontet, Richardson, Shuckburgh, Burroughs, and Francis.

nication was then open by that route to Rajmahal and Calcutta. Measures were being adopted for re-establishing Dawk Moonshees and runners along that line. Major Burroughs with the Hill Rangers returned to Bhagalpur, and Capt. Waterman succeeded him in command of the detachment at Pyalapoor and latterly Bhuggye. The Captain intended to form a junction with Major Shuckburgh, who would then renew his attack on the insurgents reported to have assembled in large numbers on the borders of the *Damin-i-Koh* to the East of Goddah. A detachment of 194 Rank and file of the 42 Regiment and 2 European officers marched from Bhagalpur on the morning of the 11th August to reinforce Capt. Francis who would co-operate with Major Shuckburgh in the contemplated attack on the Sontals.

The following arrangements had been made for the accommodation of the Troops at Bhagalpur.

**About
accommodation
of troops at
Bhagalpur.** The Native Infantry were pitched in the compound of the Commissioner's cutcherry, and the Commissioner had given two out of the three rooms which form the building to shelter the officers. The Government School house had been given up for the accommodation of the General and the Artillery. The General and his staff occupying one end of the building and the artillery the other. Half the school boys had been removed to an old mosque, fitted up as an house, and the rest to the Head Masters' own bungalow. The rent of the school bungalow was fixed at Rs. 50/- per mensem.

The Government of Bengal in its letter dated the 16th August 1855 appointed Mr. A. C. Bidwell, Commissioner Nadia Division, to be a special Commissioner for conducting the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection and for restoring tranquillity to the disturbed districts. Having regard to the tenor of the document which had been forwarded to the Magistrate of Bhagalpur by the Sontals, and also the circumstances that they had abandoned active opposition to the troops sent against them, the Government was of opinion that Mr. Bidwell would now take every means of publishing

**Bidwell to
Issue a
proclamation.**

and proclaiming among them by written note both in the Hindi and Bengali languages that the Government would freely pardon all who tendered a speedy submission except those who were proved to have been the principal instigators and leaders of the insurrection, and those who were proved to have been principally concerned in the perpetration of any murder. They should be warned at the same time that against all who continued to offer resistance, prompt and severe measures would be unhesitatingly adopted, while, on the other hand, that, as soon as complete submission was shown to the authority of the Government, Mr. Bidwell would be prepared to receive and carefully enquire into all well-grounded complaints which they might have to prefer.

With regard to several reports mentioning of Sontal villages having been burnt in the course of active measures against the rebels, the Government of Bengal's opinion about the burning of Sontal villages. thought that it might sometimes have happened unavoidably and sometimes, as in the case of Bugnadihee, the chief position of the Sontals near Burhait, might have been done purposely with a view of striking terror and inflicting a summary and immediate punishment on leading rebels through their property. But it was necessary to bear in mind that the Laws had not been suspended, that a responsibility would attach to all such wanton and unnecessary severity, and were it otherwise, it would never conduce to the early settlement of the present unhappy disturbances to make large bodies of armed men, homeless, houseless and desperate. A few severe examples must be necessary and ought assuredly to be made, but he (Bidwell) would not overstep himself or allow others to overstep the bounds of that true moderation and humanity which should distinguish all their (Governments) dealings with their subjects.

The Hon'ble Mr. Eden was appointed Mr. Bidwell's first Assistant with powers of a Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector in the disturbed districts, and Mr. Barnes was appointed another Assistant, and a Deputy Magistrate and a Deputy Collector. Mr. Pontet was also placed under

Some official appointments.

Mr. Bidwell's immediate orders. Mr. Bidwell having been appointed Special Commissioner for conducting measures against the insurgents, Mr. C. F. Brown, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division was relieved from the extra work which that outbreak imposed on him, and no longer required the services of Mr. R. N. Shore as his Assistant. On the morning of the 11th August Major General Lloyd returned to Bhagalpur from Rajmahal. Mr. H. C. Richardson returned to Bhagalpur from his camp at Lohundrea, as his services were most urgently required for carrying on the duties of the Magistrate's office. Mr. C. E. Chapman proceeded to Mr. Shuckburgh's camp in his (Richardson) stead.

Meanwhile, a number of Hillmen came and offered their aid against the Sontals. In consequence, the Hillmen offer assistance to Government. services of as many of them as offered themselves, if able-bodied and armed were accepted. Those who came to Bhagalpur were immediately sent to either Major Shuckburgh or Capt. Francis and paid two annas each per diem for such period as would be required to enable them to reach one or other of those camps.

In consequence of the inclemency of the rainy season General Lloyd was obliged to withdraw the Operations stopped on account of rains. troops from the jungles and to post them at places best suited to protect the country round the hills from the incursion of the Sontals and at the same time to preserve the health of the Troops.

At the time the Troops were withdrawn, the Sontals had seemed to retire sullenly from active outrage but without any signs of general submission. There had thus been appearances of renewed attack. On the three sides of the Hills the Sontals were likely to take advantage of the enforced and unavoidable inactivity of the Troops to renew the attacks on the inhabitants of the open country. Against this it was impossible to make other than a partial and incomplete defence by means of the troops. But assistance could be given to

the people by means of temporary police armed with matchlocks or with muskets. Mr. Bidwell and Mr. Ward made exertions to raise a temporary force and to use it in guarding outlying villages distant from military support and also in patrolling between the several Military stations along the line of railroad under construction.

From Pyalapoor to Rajmahal the line was left bare of troops because of the Jungly nature of the road and the country, and Mr. Bidwell supplied the gap, which was an important one, on account of the Railway works within it, by Police Posts and Patrols. Great consternation reigned in the neighbourhood of the Rajmahal line under construction among Europeans as well as Natives and the difficulty was experienced in recommencing the Railway works that had been interrupted during the insurrection, unless very active measures were undertaken to preserve the peace. Under the circumstances, Messrs Nelson and Co. the contractors for the Railway line were allowed the use of 50 muskets and ammunition to armed men whom they intended to entertain for the defence of the people, and works and the neighbouring villages.

It was also very necessary to keep up the communications between the several military posts, specially along the line of Railway works, that was interrupted by deep and difficult *Nullahs*. With the aid of the contractors on the line, who were willing to assist in the business, the *Nullahs* were roughly bridged and the roads made passable.

The Government hoped that great convenience would result to the present operations if the Electric Telegraph then established between Calcutta and Murshidabad were prolonged to Bhagalpur, General Lloyd's headquarters. If the line were continued from Murshidabad to Nulhatee, on the line of railroad under construction, and thence along that line to Rajmahal, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Patna the communication between Calcutta and Patna would be established on the most comprehensive and beneficial footing. It would be of the greatest advantage during the expected operations of the cold weather against the Sontals.

It was very important to have a Deputy Magistrate stationed at Rajmahal and similar offices elsewhere within available distances along the Railway works. The Government was willing to avail itself of the assistance of respectable and energetic English Gentlemen who were then employed in those parts of the country, and who had in various instances during the late insurrection, and consequent operations evinced great zeal, judgment, disinterestedness and public spirit.

The rainy season being now over operations began against the insurgents. In the early part of November Government proclaimed martial law. The simultaneous advance in the months of November and December, 1855, under the orders of Major General Lloyd of several detachments of Troops from Ganges to the More resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Sontals, most of whom fled across the river. The parties of the insurgents were broken up, and some of the leaders were captured. Next year, on the 5th of January, the proclamation of martial law was revoked. There had, however, ever from time to time been symptoms of a restless spirit among the tribes.

Reports of fresh disturbances had been circulated at different times, and in various quarters, but were found in most cases to have been greatly exaggerated, and in one instance, disturbance in the limits of thanah Bowsee, in January was shown to have been quite unfounded.

The plunder of the village Jyepore, the burning of the factory at Sugrampore, the murder of five Mahajans in the neighbourhood of Sreecoond, all within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Sontal Parganas, and the outrages committed in the districts of Hazaribagh and Khurruckdea within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur were severally followed up by proper measures attended with various degrees of success for the repression of such crimes, and the punishment of the perpetrators. These disturbances were attributed to a great

extent to the difficulty felt by some of the late insurgents in returning to their homes and occupations and to the straits to which they were driven for the means of subsistence.

The sudden attack by Gooman Sing, *Naib Ressaladar* of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, with one Duffadar and 10 Sowars on a band of men engaged in plundering a hamlet near the village of Kubinee, resulted in the surrender of a party of 290 miscreants, many of whom were engaged in the affairs of Jyepore.

Attack on the
rebels.

The number of the party which burnt the Indigo factory at Sugrampore, was at the outset, variously stated at from 2,000 to 6,000. Capt. Fagan, however, who with a detachment of the Hill Rangers, encountered and dispersed them, with a loss in killed in 31 on the part of the insurgents

Cap. Fagan
dispersed
the rebels.

stated his belief that they never amounted to more than 200. The disturbances at Sugrampore and its vicinity were in no wise attributable to the general body of the Sontal population, but were originated by evil disposed persons in that neighbourhood, who took advantage of a body of Sontal fugitives from the recently disturbed districts to commit these outrages.

Two instances of outrages were reported to have occurred in the month of March, both of which had been committed by the Hill people. The Sontals were reported as evincing a manifest disposition to settle down peaceably and were seeking employment on the road and other public works.

The Military Police Force was employed in the Rajmahal hills and their vicinity. The command of this Force was conferred on Capt. T. Rattray. The Bengalee police hitherto employed on the Hills had been removed, and the endeavours to organise a rural police among the Sontals themselves gave proofs of success.

On the 12th May, a gang of about 200 Sontals under Gora Manjee plundered two Buniyah's shops and the police Chowki in Gandee Ghoorunjee. The civil officer with a military party consisting of 60 Rank and file of the 42 Regiment N.I., 30 Rank

Attacks on
the insurgents.

and file of the Ramgurh Battalion, 18 sowars of Ramgurh Irregular Cavalry and 18 sowars of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry under the command of Lieuts. Murray and Ryan proceeded immediately to the spot, but the marauders had decamped during the night.

Next day, the same gang, pillaged the village of Khutpouk in Gadee Byria, and some of the villagers participated in this outrage. Several Sontal Manjees, inhabitants of Gadees Gowa and Byria had been recognised as having taken an active part in the affair. A reward of Rs. 200 was offered for the apprehension of Gora Manjee.

The fugitives from the Sontal Parganas seemed to have made the jungles in Gadee Gowa their head quarters just then.

The Sontals of Pargana Toondee in the Manbhoom Division, who at one time seemed inclined to be troublesome were quite, and by the last accounts tranquility prevailed in the Ramgarh Hills.

Mr. Tweedie, the Deputy Magistrate of Burhee with the assistance of Lieut. Ryan and 15 Sowars of Ramgurh irregular Cavalry made an unsuccessful attack on a party of 150 Sontals near Khuruckdee.

On the 15th May, Mr. Tweedie made a successful attack upon a large gang of marauding Sontals who were encamped near the village of Ranee Koodur in Gadee Kesko.

The expedition had been conducted with skill and judgment, and the whole gang which consisted of between 5 to 6 hundred Sontals fled and dispersed.

The notorious Soubah Gora Manjee of Nanihat in Zillah Beerbhoom was supposed to be the leader of that band which had been making plundering excursions into different parts of pargana Khuruckdea.

Thus, a cordon of outposts quickly pushed back the Sontals from the open country, and nothing remained but to sweep the jungle clear of stragglers. Before long the rebels formally tendered their submission, and thousands of them were peacefully at work upon a new road.

Submission of
the rebels.

In virtue of the power conferred upon him (Act XXXVIII of 1855) the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal issued two Commissions, the first to Mr. W. E. Elliot, and the second to Mr. H. Stamford, Commissioner of the Sontal Parganas for the trial and punishment of rebellion, and other offences committed within the disturbed districts. The trials resulted in the conviction of a number of persons, two of whom were sentenced capitally, some to transportation for life, and others to imprisonment for various acts.

The Dhāraṇa Gotra of the Guptas

By Dasharatha Sharma

That the Guptas were Kāraskara Jāts has been proved by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his 'History of India, 150-350 A. D.' But he need not compare *Dhaṇṛi*, the Jāt clan found in Amritsar, with the Sanskrit *Dhāraṇa* of Prabhāvatī Gupta's inscription (Poona plates). *Dhāraṇiyā Jāts*, or Jāts of the *Dhāraṇa gotra* are found in large numbers in Sangariā, Hanumāngarh, Sūrātgarh, and other Tahsils of the Bikāner State, adjoining the Punjab. They are probably found in the Bhaṭṭā and Ferozepur districts of the Punjab also. Some *Dhāraṇiyās* profess the *Viṣṇoi* religion, a few are *Ārya Samājis*, but most hold by their old faith. Like all other Jāts, the *Dhāraṇiyās* are moderately fair-coloured, generally tall, and physically well-built.

The Seventh International Congress of
Historical Sciences

Bombay, 1st December, 1933

To

THE SECRETARY,

The Bihar & Orissa Research Society,
Patna Museum Buildings,
PATNA

SIR,

The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, which I had the honour to attend as a Delegate of your Society, was held at Warsaw, the capital of Poland, from the 21st to the 28th of August, 1933. Above six hundred scholars from practically all over the world gathered at Warsaw to discuss the most diverse historical topics, to study the most varied historical problems, to communicate to each other their successes in research, their hopes for the future, their enthusiasm and their optimism. Naturally Poland gave the largest contingent of scholars, but Italy was the first of the foreign nations in sending a representative delegation to the Congress. Ninety-four Italians were present. When I boarded the International Express "Rome-Warsaw" in Vienna in the evening of the 19th, I found that all my fellow-Travellers and all those who were filling up the coach were Italians. When we entered the Polish frontier on the following morning, the Custom authorities had no work in examining our luggage. At the magic phrase: "*Nous sommes Congresistes*" that unpleasant affair was at once eliminated. There were also numerous delegations from France, from England and from America; from the East we were four: two delegates from Egypt and two from India—the writer of these lines and one of his old students, Mr. H. V. Nunes, M.A.

The meetings and the sections of the Congress were held

according to detailed programme without any hitch or difficulty, thanks to the marvellous organization of the able Secretary, Dr. Thaddeus Manteuffel and a band of University students of both sexes, his helpers. There were twenty-eight sections dealing with as many historical aspects under which the 452 papers or communications sent to the Congress were grouped. There was a section on Oriental History to which most of the contributions sent from India were allotted.

It was a pity that only two delegates from India had been able to attend the Congress. India arouses a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and curiosity among the Polish people. We had to pose several times in the streets of Warsaw at the request of students and press reporters, and on the last day of the Congress we had the satisfaction of seeing our portraits sold in all the corners of the city, in two of the most popular papers of the capital. We were proud of being introduced to Mrs. Helena Willman-Grabowska, a Polish lady who is teaching Sanskrit in the University of Crakow, and who read a paper on the *Political Ideas of Aśoka's Time*, being a short commentary on Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. We had also great pleasure in meeting Miss Iva Grueber, a young girl who is studying Sanskrit in the University of Lwow, and who reads Hindustani, as a result of her private study during her leisure hours. Another girl, a student of the University of Warsaw, has formed a study circle among her fellow students in order to study the history of India and her present political and social problems.

The papers submitted to the Congress which dealt with Indian subjects were the following:—

T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum): ... *The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India.*

Helena Willman-Grabowska

(Crakow): ... *The Idea of State in Ancient India.*

William Coelho (Bombay): ... *Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnatakā.*

Hasmukh Sankalia (Bombay): *Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency.*

- Edward A. Pires (Bombay): ... *Who were the Rulers of Pātaliputra before the Guptas?*
- Henry Heras, S. J. (Bombay): *The Pallava Monarchs Founders of the Religious Architecture in the Tamil Country.*
- A. Appadorai (Madras): ... *Irrigation in South India in the Middle Ages.*
- Alfred Martineau (Paris): ... *Parallelism between Duplex and de Bussy.*
- George M. Moraes (Bombay): *Christian Leanings of the Mughal Prince Dara Shukoh.*
- T. K. Shahani (Bhavnagar): ... *Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India.*
- Hedwige Nunes (Bombay): ... *Jesuit Sources of Indian History.*
- R. Subba Rao (Rajahmundry): *The Administrative History of the Eastern Gaṅgās in the 11th Century A.D.*
- H. N. Sinha (Nagpur): ... *Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Policy.*
- D. F. Colaço (Bombay): ... *Culture and Art at the Court of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore.*
- Adrian Duarte (Karachi): ... *Piracy in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb.*
- S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (Madras): ... *The Value of Tradition in Indian Historical Research.*

The two Indian delegates were invited together with all the British subjects to some refreshments at the British Embassy on August 25th, and were kindly entertained by Mr. Gordon G. M. Vereker, Chargé d'Affairs, in the absence of the Ambassador.

Finally I am glad to inform you that after talking with

the President and Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, I have great hopes that soon we shall be able to found a Committee of Oriental History under the auspices of the International Committee.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Ycur most obedient servant,
H. HERAS, S.J.

St. Xavier's College,
Bombay, I.

Reviews and Notices

MUGHAL KINGSHIP AND NOBILITY. By Ram Prasad Khosla, M.A. (Punjab); B.A. (Oxon); I.E.S. Principal T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur (Bihar). The Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad. 8×5. Pp. i-ix, 1-311. 1934. Price Rs. 5/.

This is not a political history of the Mughal period, but a history of Mughal Constitution. It eschews Kings and Courts, and concentrates on Constitution, however static that Constitution may appear to the casual observer. "The position of the Mughal King, his relations with the Church and the Nobility, the law of succession, the administration of justice are some of the important topics discussed, and no student of Mughal history can deny that the knowledge of these subjects is essential for one who wants to understand the real significance of that period of history," (p. iii). The "Great-Man" theory of Mughal history has held the field of historic composition so long, that this weighty product of the "Philosophic School", the first of its kind, is a welcome contribution to an adequate understanding of Mughal India.

The constitutional problems are discussed in all their interesting features. Chapters I-II deal with 'the Mughal Kingship'; Chapter III- 'The Royal Prerogative'; Chapter IV- 'The Law of Succession'; Chapter V- 'Secret Service'; Chapter VI 'The Mughal Justice'; Chapters VII-VIII 'A Secular State'; Chapters IX-X- 'The Mughal Nobility'; Chapter XI- Conclusion. Within this austere exclusive compass, each topic is discussed with a rare comprehensiveness. The author's generalisations, e. g. regarding 'the strong central government of the Mughals' pp. 32-51, 'the sphere and jurisdiction of the Sacred Law' pp. 152-57, 'a military despotism tempered with benevolence' pp. 299-300, are far-

reaching, while his power of detecting subtle analogies between circumstances and institutions take the reader to the heart of things ; cf. the elective principle of Islam in Arabia and the theory of divine right in Muslim Mughal India, pp. 1-30.

The last point reminds us of the recent researches of Leon Cahun, Strakosch-Grassmann and specially Vladimertsov into the antecedents and *milieu* of the Mongols. Professor Vladimertsov in his "*The Life of Chingis-Khan*" translated by Prince D'Mirski (Routledge) draws pointed attention to the fact that Chingis-Khan was not a genius risen from the people. He distinctly belonged to the small nobility, and the aristocratic principle guided him throughout his life. His ruling idea was simple : it was that he should be supreme over his clan, that his clan should be supreme over the Mongols, and that the Mongols should be supreme over as much of the world as was possible. From this simplicity and homeliness of mind to Mughal statesmanship in India is an appreciable distance. The author of "*Mughal Kingship and Nobility*" modestly disclaims all element of progress in their constitution, but unfolds the factors from seed-time to harvest. In doing this he has triumphantly avoided the main danger that beset his path, that of producing a mere colourless synopsis, an abbreviated diary of mighty events. Here are the outlines boldly drawn and lit up by shrewd touches of erudition and discernment.

The author's illuminating analysis of the decline of the Mughals will bear repetition : "Under Aurangzeb the royal policy underwent a great change, he was not content with being merely the Commander of the Faithful, but had an ambition to be the leader of the Church Militant," (p. 115). "The empire" remarks Professor Ernest Barker in his "*The Legacy of Rome*," "collapsed when it became a Christian society." Gibbon believed that the ascendancy of the Church principle was inseparably connected with the decline of the Roman Monarchy; one cause among many causes.

In India it was perhaps the main cause of the decline of the Mughal Kingship. And Aurangzeb passes into the region of the melancholy might-have-beens, a forceful but futile visionary.

There is hardly a single dry chapter or a prolix page in the whole book. The author has deliberately referred to English translations rather than to original Persian authorities. Scarcely ever do we feel that he is bearing in almost every page a weight of learning that would have crushed a less deft craftsman.

Like his judgment, the author's style is concise and temperate. It brings home to us why Macaulay's style has been described as "a style in which it was almost impossible to tell the truth."

Neatly printed and decently got-up, the book is sure to be of great help to the student in the class-room as well as to the researcher in his search for sources.

A. B-Ś.

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM by
Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Adharchandra Mookerjee
Lectures, 1932. Published by the University of Calcutta,
1934. 5 × 8½, pp. 1-102.

In the Preface the author states the object : 'The problem which is, in fact, common to all religious or philosophical systems of the country is the cessation of sufferings, which follows the extinction of desire, as declared by the sages of the Upaniṣads. The Buddha accepted the view, but differing diametrically from them as regards the means he took a very bold step and advocated the doctrine of *Anātman*. And yet he arrived at the same destination.'

The above thesis is expounded in two lectures in a popular vein. Lecture I depicts the back-ground : The

idea of *Ātman* as conceived of by the *Karmins* and the *Jñānins*, i. e., the *Yājñikas* and the *Vedantists*, and their evolution through the *Sāṅkhya* to the *Buddha*. Lecture II discusses the Buddhist doctrine of *Anātman* as opposed to the Vedantist conception of *Ātman*, the knowledge of which brings about salvation.

In Lecture I, the author traces the Upaniṣadic concentration on Self as opposed to Ritualism directly to the *Veda*. (p. 47). This is not historically accurate. The Upaniṣadic teaching is a synthesis of two originally divergent view points—roughly of the *Yājñika* in the *Veda*, and the *Vrātya Parivrājaka* believing in *Tapasyā* or *Yoga*—and represented in some of the plaques unearthed at Mahenjo-Daro, and described by Sir John Marshall under *Paśupati* (*Mahenjo-Daro*, vol. I, p. 60). This difference in origin, between *Yāga* and *Yōga*, amply accounts for the difference in outlook between the Vedantist and the Buddhist the latter of whom is the conceptual fulfilment of *Sāṅkhya-cum-Vedānta* : *Anātman vs. Ātman*. (p. 64).

This misconception about the true inwardness of *Ātman* has led the author to a very doubtful exposition of the Vedantist's *So'ham*. In p. 65, the author quotes Br. Up., II.4.5—'Verily it is not for the desire for a husband that husband is dear, but it is for the desire for the Self that the husband is dear. 'The author misconstrues it as a glorification of Self-Love. On the other hand, it is an attempt at realising self-consciousness through a particular medium without unduly exaggerating that medium. To imagine that the love for a particular sensuous being is to be the meaning of life is a terrible misconception, even in the case of the purest love, and proves superficiality even in the case of the profoundest inclination. Of course, a particular individual man can be the exponent of the highest to another, but to make it into a personal one can only be done at the expense of personality. The whole of Lecture II would have been easier to follow if the real significance of the Vedāntist's 'Universe in

Man' had been adequately set off against the 'Impermanence' of the Buddha. This comparison and contrast was attempted more satisfactorily by Rabindranath Tagore in his Calcutta University Kamala Lectures on "Religion of Man."

There are many misprints in the book ; cf. p. 14. 'quiescence': *Ānātman*, p. 64. The author does not appear to have noticed the recent publications in the *Journal Asiatique* (1928 ff.), regarding the treatises '*Nairātmya-paripṛcchā*' attributed to or inspired by Aśvaghōṣa.

As a popular exposition, the book is readable. As an authoritative exegesis, its value is limited.

A. Banerji-Sastri.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA. Extending from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, (c. 320-760 A.D.). By Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D. The Book Company Ltd. 1934 Pp. i-viii, 1-340. 5 × 8½.

HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY. By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) Published by The University of Dacca, 1933. 9 × 6. Pp. i-ix, 1-387.

One of the serious drawbacks of studying Indian history so far has been the absence of adequate monographs on the various epochs that make up that history. In Europe even small towns possess their written histories. In India, vast tracts and prodigious periods rich in historical materials are practically unexplored. The broad sweeps of a Duncker would lack their very foundations here. Of late, however, Indian scholars and European Indologists have realised this want and set to supply it. For the south, the works of

Fr. Heras on *Vijayanagara and the Pallavas*, the *History of Kerala* by Menon, the *Kadamba Kula* by Moraes, and in the North the *History of Orissa* by Banerji and the *Early History of India* by Jayaswal resuscitating the Imperial Vākātakas are admirable contributions towards removing these deficiencies. Fresh emulation by younger workers, like the two books noted above, are a promising sign to be heartily encouraged.

Both the books were approved as theses for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the first in the University of Dacca, the second in the University of London. Between them they offer a running history of fragments of India from the 4th to the 11th century. Dr. Basak discourses on north-eastern India from 320-760, Dr. Ganguly on Malwa from the 8th to the 11th century.

As might have been expected, the books are more in the nature of *résumés* of existing data rather than original discoveries or new interpretations thereof. No attempt is made to discuss fresh data. Thus Dr. Basak declines to take up the historicity of Rāmagupta and Kācha (pp. iii-iv). Perhaps he is wise in leaving them to maturer hands. He quotes *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (pp. 151-2), but fails to appraise its value. Jayaswal's recent work on the *Imperial History of India* based on the same source shows what an apparently unrelated mass of materials can yield to a skilled historian. It is the same old difference between a jurist and a lawyer : one sees with unseeing eyes. The author's treatment of Śaśāṅka (pp. 155-60) is perfunctory. No attempt is made to critically estimate the relative values of the account of Yuan Chwang, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and *Harṣacarita* and to confront them with Harṣa's own inscriptions. An important factor in the history of 7th century India, Pulikeśin II, hardly gets his dues. But neither excessive caution nor undue diffidence can excuse Dr. Basak's ignorance of *Kaumudīmahotsavam*.

The same lack of grasp and originality is noticeable in the *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*. The discussion on the

non-Indian origin or a Deccan home (pp. 6-9) is altogether inconclusive, more like a collection of opinions than a critical study.

Though neither of the books can claim to be a reconstruction of history, yet both are likely to be useful as handy compilations of data lying scattered about and often lost sight of,

A. B-Ś.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held in the
Society's office on Sunday the 29th July, 1934.**

Present:

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

1 Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 18th, 1934.

2 Passed the monthly accounts from March to June, 1934.

3 Passed the Annual Statement of Accounts for the year 1933-34.

4 Passed the revised budget for the year 1934-35 and budget estimate for the year 1935-36.

Resolved further that the attention of the Government be drawn to the embarrassed finances of the Society and that a request be made to restore the cuts.

5 Elected the following new members:—

(1) Babu Jaikishore Narain Singh, Pakri State, P.O. Bajpatti, Muzafferpur.

(2) J. Johnson, Esq., Missionary (Treasurer), P.O. Dumka, C. P.

6 Placed the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta on the Society's exchange list.

Considered the *Journal of the Karnatak Sahitya Parishat*. Resolved that the Council regrets that no exchange is possible.

7 Read Mahā-Paṇḍit Rāhula Saṅkṛityāyan's letter, dated the 22nd June, 1934.

Resolved that the Council regrets that the Society's funds do not allow for the purchase of a new set of *Tanjur and Kanjur* as proposed.

8 Confirmed Honorary Joint Secretary's letter, dated July 20th, 1934 requesting Sir E. A. Gait to represent the Society in London during the first session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences :—30th July to 4th August, 1934.

9 Passed the following bills for payment :—
Indian Photo Engraving Company, Calcutta.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Bill No. 7685, dated 9.6.1934 for | Rs. 84.11.0 |
| 2. „ 7679, „ 7.6.1934. | Rs. 144.14.0 |

Calcutta Oriental Press, Calcutta.

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1. Bill No. 2155/1995, dated 26.6.1934 for | 396.0.0 |
|--|---------|

10 Read United Press letter, dated the 6th July, 1934. Resolved that the Allahabad Law Journal Press be asked to take printing of the Society's *Journal*; failing that the United Press be entrusted with the printing of the Society's *Journal*.

11 Resolved that the price of the II volume of the *Catalogue of Mithila Mss.* be fixed at Rs. 3/- a copy.

12 Read Allahabad Bank letter No. 3641 dated the 24th July, 1934.

Resolved that the sum of Rs. 661.7.9. with interest thereon be redeposited in the same bank for one year more from the 10th August, 1934.

Resolved further that a sum of Rs. 1700/- from Huthwa Fund be placed on fixed deposit for one year with the Allahabad Bank.

30th July, 1934.

M. Ghosh
Honorary Joint Secretary.

ANNUAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1933-34.

INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Heads	Actuals	Budget	Heads	Actuals	Budget
Establishment	946.	946.	Establishment	1,255. 8.	1,259.
Mithila Pandit	1,337.	1337.	Mithila Pandit	1,389.14.10.	1405.
Library	350.	350.	Libray	350.	350.
Printing charges of Journal	2,000.	2000.	Printing charges of Journal	3,400.	3,400.
Sale of Journal	200. 8.11.	800.	" paid in excess	752.14. 3.	
Subscription	1,309. 3. 7.	1600.	Telephone	168.12.	169.
Postage recovered	11. 8.	10.	Postage	244.11.	300.
Miscellaneous	69. 11.		Stationery	45.12.	60.
H. E.'s grant for storing Tibetan Mss.	600.		Electrical charges	73.12.	125.
Loan from Dbg. Fund to meet excess printing charges of Journal	752.14. 3.		Miscellaneous	329. 9. 6.	350.
Interest on fixed deposit			H. E.'s grant for storage of Tibetan Mss.	600.	
Total	7,576.13. 9.	7,043.	Total	8,610.13. 7.	7,418.
Opening Balance	1,144.14. 1½	1,144.14.1½	Closing Balance	110.14. 3½	769 14.1½
Grand Total	8,721.11.10½	8,187.14.1½	Grand Total	8,721.11.10½	8,187.14.1½

List of members of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society on 31st December, 1933.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A. ...	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E.A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.C.S. (Retd)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberly, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ...	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Konow, Dr. Sten ...	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
8	Levi, M. Sylvain ...	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
9	Oldham, C.E.A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
10	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. Ph.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
11	Walsh, E.H.O., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1919	c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P.R., Bar-at-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radha- Krishna.	1918	Patna City.
5	Lall, Babu Hira ...	1933	Huthwa.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lucknow.
8	Raja Bahadur Sir, R. N. Bhanja Deo, Kt., O.B.E.	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavaswa- rendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura. (Shahabad).
14	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Sub-Deputy Collector, Chapra.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	A		
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc.	1928	Senior Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Agarwala, Vasudeva Sharan, M.A., LL.B.	1932	Curator, Curzon Museum, Muttra.
3	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
4	Aiyangar, R.B. Dr. Krishna-swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	43, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
5	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Raghava Vilas, Trivandrum, Travancore.
6	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A.	1926	G.B.B. College, Muzafarpur.
7	Altekar, A.S., M.A., D.Litt.	1933	Benares Hindu University.
	B		
8	Bakhle, Vidyasagara Sadasiva, M.A., LL.B.	1932	Advocate, 276 Yadava Gopal Peth, Satara City.
9	Barhut, Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh.	1932	State Historian, Patiala.
10	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
11	Bhandarkar, Dr. D.R. ...	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
12	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ...	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
13	Bhide, H. B. ...	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
14	Bodding, Rev. P.O. ...	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
15	Bose, Anant Kumar ...	1931	Kadamkuan, Patna.
16	Banerji, S. ...	1933	Headmaster, Saharanpur.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	C		
17	Carr, Paul Roland ...	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
18	Chakladar, Haran Chandra M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali-ghat, Calcutta.
19	Chaube, Ram Kumar ...	1931	Azmatgarh Palace, Benares.
20	Chaudhuri, G. K. ...	1928	Ballipur P. O., Darbhanga.
21	Chaudhuri, P., I.C.S. ...	1931	Deputy Commissioner, Hazaribagh.
22	Christian, H. D. ...	1920	Superintendent, Gangpur State, Orissa.
23	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum, of Fine Arts, Boston Mass. U. S. A.
	D		
24	Das, Kali Prasad ...	1929	Barh, District Patna.
25	Das, Kashinath, M.A. ...	1925	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M. A. ...	...	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
28	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
29	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ...	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P. O. Poona.
30	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ...	...	Principal, Hindu University Benares.
	E		
	Nil.		
	F		
31	Fawcus, G.E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Names of Members	Year of election	Address.
1	2	3	4
	G		
32	Ghosh, Adhar Chndra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
33	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Gupta, Shiva Prasad	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
	H		
35	Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M. A.	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
36	Hill, J. L., M.A. ...	1930	Patna College, Patna.
	I		
37	Imam, Nawab Shamsul-Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
	J		
38	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
39	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.
40	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
41	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
42	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A. Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
43	Jha. Lakshmikant, B.L. ...	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
44	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L. ...	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
45	Jha, Andh Bihari, M.A.	1933	Sub-Deputy Magistrate, Dinapore.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
46	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Oldham Road, Gaya.
	K		
47	Khan Bahadur Syd Muham- mad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
48	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ...	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandalal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
49	Kimura, R. ...	1920	Rissho University, Osaki Machi, Tokyo, Japan.
50	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archæolo- gical Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
51	Lakhani, Ibrahim Wali Mohamad, B.A.	1934	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
	L		
52	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ...	1918	Retired Deputy Commis- sioner, Katni, C. P.
53	Lall, Raja P. C. ...	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
54	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna.
55	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
	M		
56	Mackeuzie, W. . . .	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
57	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Sir T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
58	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E. C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.I.
59	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhag- vat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balasore.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of Member	Year of election	Address.
1	2	3	4
60	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
61	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
62	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ...	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
63	Majumdar, Bimanbehari	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
64	Malaviya, Pandit Bala- govinda.	1924	Patna City.
65	Manuk, P. C., Bar.-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
66	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ...	1927	Azamgarh.
67	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, K.T.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
68	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
69	Mishra, Ganga Shankar, M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University.
70	Mitra, K.P., M.A., B.L.	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
71	Mukerji, Prof. A. N	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
72	Nagar, Madan Mohan, M.A.	1933	Curator, Sarnath Museum, Benares.
73	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
74	Noor, Hon'ble Justice K.B. Khawaja Muhammad.	1915	Pabna.
	O Nil.		
	P		
75	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election	Address.
1	2	3	4
76	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P.O. Godavari District.
77	Patnaik, Sudhakar ...	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, P.O. Banpur, Puri.
78	Peppe, A. T. ...	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
79	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
80	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ...	1928	Professor, Nalanda College, Bihar Sherif.
81	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
82	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ...	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
83	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.
84	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
85	Ramdas, G., B.A.	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
86	Ranganathan, S. R.	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
87	Rao, S. Narasingh, M.A.	1919	2/20 Sami Nalikan St, Chintadri Pet, Madras.
88	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
89	Roy, Rai Bahadur S. C. M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
90	Richards, F.J. ...	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address.
1	2	3	4
91	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ... S	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
92	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
93	Saheb Bhubaneswar Sing	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
94	Sarkar Ganapati ...	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
95	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
96	Sarkar, Dr. Submal C. ...	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
97	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
98	Seppings, E. H. L.	1916	Innes Road, P. O. Kemmen- dine, Rangoon.
99	Sham Bahadur	1928	Bar-at-Law, Patna.
100	Sharma, Sri, Ram, M.A.	1932	D. A. V. College, Lahore.
101	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., PH.D.	1923	Patna college, Patna.
102	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D. LiTT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
103	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
104	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand	1928	Tri-Chandra College, Khat- mandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
105	Shaw, Parmanand	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
106	Singh, Lakhsiminarayan	1933	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
107	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Muzaffarpur.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
108	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
109	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
110	Singh, Raja Rajendralala, Baraha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
111	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
112	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto.
113	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
114	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.
115	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law	1915	Patna.
116	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
117	Surya Narayan, B.L.	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
118	Savarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
T			
119	Tarafdar, Rev. S.K.	1915	Principal, C. M. S. High School, Bhagalpur.
120	Taraporewala, Y. J.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
121	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, K.T.	1928	Chief Justice. High Court, Patna.
122	Thakur, Sivanandan, M.A.	1932	High School, Patna.
123	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. DHINGA, Dist. Gujarat, Punjab.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(Continued).

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
124	Tripathi, Devadatta	1916	Kadam Kuan.
125	,, Narayana	1930	Secretariat, Patna.
126	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University.
	U		
127	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A.	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.
	V		
128	Varma, Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
129	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
130	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D.	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XX]

1934

[PARTS III-IV

A FALSE LINGUISTIC FAMILY

"THE AUSTRO-ASIATIC"

(About the danger of employing the terms "austro-asiatic languages" and "austric languages")

By W. F. de Hevesy, Paris

It is known that in 1906, *Father Schmidt*, thinking he had discovered a relationship between the munda languages of India and the nicobarese, the khasi as well as the mon-khmer languages, took this alleged discovery as the starting point for the establishment of a new family of languages, which he called the "austro-asiatic" one.

It is also known that later on he joined this family to the "austronesian" family of languages, giving to the whole the name of "austric" family.

Father Schmidt has enriched human knowledge with many important works. Science will thus all the more forgive him—*errare humanum*—the absolute misunderstanding he perpetrated by creating his "austro-asiatic", and hence his "austric" family. On the contrary, *Mr. Sten Konow* who was the first to examine and criticize his work, seems less pardonable, for it is certainly thanks to his most favourable advice (published the same year in the "Göttingsche Gelehrten Anzeigen" and later on, in the "Linguistic

Survey of India", Vol. IV) that the discovery of *Father Schmidt* was given its immediate great authority, without any reserve; we think that it is especially due to Mr. *Sten Konow* that no thorough examination and control of the publication* has been made so far.

In fact, *Father Schmidt* concluded there (page 17): "...the fundamental relationship of the munda languages with the nicobarese, the khasi, the mon-khmer languages is established beyond any doubt; this relationship is no more a mere supposition but a fact, which might claim the same degree of certainty as the relationship existing between the indo-german languages."—But, as one will see, there can be no question about this.

I do not pretend at all that there exist no common elements whatever among the aforesaid languages; I shall even remember that three identical cardinal numbers (two, three, four) are found in munda and mon-khmer. However, *Father Schmidt* speaks of a common filiation of a family of languages, and this is a fact far from being proved. Neolithic objects, such as the same shoulder bladed hatchets, which have been found in Indo-China and Malaysia as well as in that part of India which is inhabited now by the munda peoples, seem to prove the existence of an old common substratum in all those countries, a substratum upon which were then laid the other couches. But have both the munda and the mon-khmer languages, not to mention the other ones, drawn from this spring? Or have they perhaps borrowed from one another? We actually know nothing about it so far.

On the contrary, it is certain that the morphological difference between two groups of languages is seldom so strongly marked, as it is the case between the munda and the mon-khmer.

However, *Father Schmidt* himself admits the latter, and his assertion is based on other arguments. His "proofs" are of two kinds: first, the use of infixation in the munda languages. Then, and above all, the numerous (he relates 345 of them) lexicological

*P. W. Schmidt—Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens.—Braunschweig Vieweg und Sohn, 1906.

concordances between santali, the only munda language he examines, and the other languages. Yet, the use of infixes is quite different in the two cases. While for the mon-khmer language, the infixation is an integral part of the speech, *i.e.*, no use of a mon-khmer tongue is possible without it, in the munda languages the role of the infixes is far from being the same: it is quite possible to speak santali without using infixes, while under the same conditions khmer cannot be spoken.

Besides, as I will show it in a subsequent article, the use of infixation in munda may be relatively recent; it seems that it was no part of their original speech.

Let us now see the lexicological concordances. *Schmidt*, by establishing them, aims at a double end: he first wants to prove that if the munda languages use, besides the already said infixation, the suffixation as well, yet it is thanks to the *prefixation* that their vocabulary was formed originally. Further he had to assert, that the santali words divided by him into prefixes and roots, possess the same roots as, *e.g.*, the mon-khmer words he examines, *viz.* words of the khmer, mon, stieng and bahnar tongues. In other words all the languages he attends to, are born of a common original language.

Let us give examples of *Schmidt's* arguments. Since there exists in bahnar a word *ser* "to move forward noiselessly" and in stieng a word *sier* "to pass", further in khasi a word *siar* "sly": the santali *busiar* "intelligent, cautious, smart, sly", (a word borrowed from persian), must therefore have originated from the primitive root *ser*, *sier*, *siar* and from some munda prefix *bu*.—As a word *kbit* "to fix, to determine" exists in khmer, the santali *dekbbit* (also a borrowed word, and an indo-aryan one), "deliberately, with eyes open", is not anything else, but that very word *kbit* of khmer, provided with the prefix *de*.—Khmer having a word *rasal* "violent movement" and santali a *mesal* "to mix, to adulterate", (an indo-european word the Santals borrowed), the latter must have evidently been born from an original root *sal*, provided with a "munda prefix" *me*, and so on.

It is much to be regretted that *Father Schmidt* had not known somewhat better the santali language on which he based his alleged

discovery; for then he would have at once noticed that he was taking a wrong step. There are, for instance, in this language two suffixes, the most common of all, forming (besides fulfilling other functions), nouns: the suffixes *ic'* and *ak'*. Should *Father Schmidt* had known them, he would have never considered these suffixes as parts of munda roots; and it is just the same for the suffix *ok'*, which in santali forms the reflective verbs. These are errors which alone make a great many of his comparisons useless.

And even without knowing santali more thoroughly, one little fact ought to have incited *Father Schmidt* to prudence, namely that *the number* of the different prefixes, which, in compliance with his theory, would form some two hundred words of santali, alone reaches more than a hundred. But each prefix having evidently been formerly a word, this very fact should have made his theory appear suspicious at the very outset. In reality, there does not exist as much as half a dozen prefixes in santali, and yet those are often the same as the ones to be found in indo-aryan, viz., the prefixes *adh*, *be*, *ne*, *nir* and others.

Even a somewhat more attentive examination of *Campbell's* Santali-English dictionary, from which *Schmidt* takes his examples, would have had its advantages, as there are, indeed, about thirty cases where *Schmidt* should have been able to notice immediately (since the examples are always found on the same page, and even often in the line which precedes or follows the word *Schmidt* took out), that prefixation in munda was quite out of the question and that one had right well suffixed roots.

I have published in the "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies", London University, 1931, Part I, page 187, a short study about the use that *Schmidt* had made of *Campbell's* dictionary and I gave the following definition of the aim of my opusculum: "*our exclusive purpose at the present is to show, that with no other means but the same dictionary the contrary of his (Schmidt's) conclusions can be proved just as well, i.e. the words Schmidt presumed to be prefixed forms, are suffixed ones, having absolutely nothing to do with the khmer, etc. words he quotes*".

After what has already been said, I think it is clear that *Father Schmidt* often uses *borrowed santali words* for his demonstration.

Santali and the munda languages in general have largely drawn upon the aryan languages, upon sanscrit, hindi, sadani, bihari and others; then from persian, and even from arabian; and, lastly, from the dravidian languages, particularly from oraon. *Father Schmidt* does not take this circumstance into account, since he works with arabian words, such as **bālbāl* (34), *ḥarakat* (38), *bajat* (69), *jam* (75), *tear* (125), *balik* (266), *zulm* (293), *hawā* (337); with persian ones, such as *arra* (10), *dil* (163), *gorom* (256), *hus* (324); with dravidian words, as oraon *gadgad* and *gada* (44), *carrna* (60), *bolat* (283) and others; and lastly with more than a hundred indo-aryan words, many of them being even indo-european. (This detail is important since, as I will point out in my next article, it is not at all to be denied, that the indo-aryan languages made numerous borrowings from the munda ones). Here are for instance, some indo-european words that Schmidt did not take into account when quoting his santali "original" words: *dekkhit* (37), *gaṭ* (47), *gā* (51), *conicol* (62), *num* (78), *tul* (130), *dañ* (140), *dar* (158), *pac* (174), *ba*, *baba* (186), *suruñ* (240), *lo* (263), *lep* (287), *sun* (320), *mesal* (328), *dabok* (331).

Schmidt's semantical concordances also often give rise to objections. Among them are to be found comparisons as e.g. santali "short" (not full, employed in compliance with verbs), with stieng and bahnar "frontiers" and khasi "to hinder" (15); santali "wide" (as a gap), with khmer "long, emaciated" (16); santali "to use diligence, to be industrious, to persevere", with bahnar "tight, close" and mon "wounded" (32); santali "a heap, to make into a heap", with khmer "end, death" (44); santali "thin, slim", with bahnar "to founder, to go down" and khmer "to calm, to die away" (50); santali "in general (generally, at random, roughly speaking)", with bahnar "to gather, to give help one another" (51); santali "to die, to be past hope of recovery, to be dangerously ill", with nicobarese "to hunt wild boars by night" (72); santali "to search for by feeling with the fingers, or by lifting or removing small objects", with stieng "to drop" and khasi "to flow" (101); santali "small,

*The ciphers which follow the words refer to Schmidt's groups where the Santali forms of those words are quoted.

young", with khasi "to cut" (145); santali "dirty, discoloured, as food burnt in cooking", with ? mon "to jerk, to quiver as a dying animal" (177); santali "to put or hold under the arm", with khmer "to cut (with scissors)" (218); santali "shrill, discordant, scorching, as the sunrays", with khasi "rotten wood" (247); santali "flour, meal; to grind into flour or meal; to grind to powder", with bahnar "ditch" (274) and ? mon "to melt"; santali "flat and broad, flat and wide, occupying much place, flat as opposed to steep (as a roof)", with khasi "mountain-torrent" (247); santali "to squeeze out as the stone of a ripe fruit", with khasi "to put in liberty" (278); santali "to be tied, as the tongue-tied", with khmer "to light off" (281); santali "to follow after", with khasi "to pack up, to pack off" and mon "to marry" (311); and still a good dozen of other similar blunders.

Little knowledge of santali and of the munda languages in general is also shown by *Father Schmidt's* erroneous assertion that there does not exist any initial *k* in those languages; that this initial must each time turn into an *b*, the *k* only being able to subsist when preceded by a prefix. Santali words, such as *hako* "fish", *bende* "black", *hon* "rat", *bor* "man", *bor* "a path, a way", *holon* "flour, meal", etc., appearing in another munda language, in kurku in the forms *kako*, *kende*, *kon*, *kor*, *kor*, and *kolon*, prove the contrary of the aforesaid affirmation.

Thus we are very far from the "beyond any doubt" and from the "certainty" that *Father Schmidt* resolutely cried out in his work regarding the position of munda. The relationship he claimed to have discovered is proved by nothing; while on the contrary everything leads one to conclude, as I try to show in the next article, that munda languages are related to uralian and more particularly to finno-ugrian languages, and are even languages belonging to the ugrian branch of the latter stock,—a branch which so far included only the vogoul and the ostjak, both of Siberia, and the magyar (hungarian) in Central Europe.

So one can see how dangerous it would be to keep on in linguistics the use of the term "austro-asiatic". This term would only give rise to confusion. In fact the case is far from being the same as that when one would notice for instance to-day an error

regarding the filiation of an important language of the indo-european family. This family is no longer the one of Messrs. *Jones*, *Max Müller* or of some other scholar, who busied themselves with it: the indo-european is connected to-day with no particular name whatever. But concerning the "austro-asiatic" family, it is on the contrary quite otherwise. *Father Schmidt* alone studied it; he is the one man whom *Sten Konow* invested with the hall-mark of the "best authority on the subject"; it is just *Schmidt* himself who created the term "austro-asiatic", and more than that: he created this term, as he explains it, in order to consecrate a discovery of his—the discovery of the pretended relationship of the munda tongues with another group of languages. To say "austro-asiatic" is to say now-a-days—"Father Schmidt's family". Hence, the keeping on this term will always be tantamount to considering the structure of a family of languages just as it has been *wrongfully* established.

Assuming for a moment that everyone agreed in exempting the munda languages from *Father Schmidt's* family, leaving the name "austro-asiatic" otherwise intact, what would then remain of it?

The result would still be precarious enough. *Father Schmidt* began by grouping together the sakai and semang languages of Malaysia: but Messrs. *Skeat* and *Blagden*, their best connoisseurs, already pointed out the very great difference that exists in their phonology. Again, *Schmidt* affiliated these latter languages to the mon-khmer ones; but Messrs. *Skeat* and *Blagden* uphold that the semang at least did not originally form a part of this group. To accept *Schmidt's* theories in such circumstances, giving him thereby, without any examination whatever, a new credit in the very field where the former credit has already cost about thirty years of wrong lead to science, is indeed, unthinkable.

And more than that! It is known that *Father Schmidt* also believes in a relationship between the mon-khmer languages of his "austro-asiatic" group, and the malaysian languages as well as between other languages of the "austronesian" group, *i.e.*, in the relationship which had led him to the establishment of his "austric"

family, in a relationship which he based again upon lexicological concordances, and furthermore upon concordances just as little convincing, as those of the munda mon-khmer affiliation. Thus, if we keep his term "austro-asiatic", we automatically sanction his second error as well: the existence of an "austric" family.

Besides, the linguists are not the only ones who suffer from that error: archæologists do not succeed either, in estimating what *Schmidt* believed he had discovered. So one can read in a remarkable study of *Professor Baron Heine-Geldern*, of the Vienna University, "Urheimat und früheste Wanderung der Austronesier" (The primitive Fatherland and the earliest wandering of the Austro-nesians), published in the "Anthropos", (Vol. XXVI, page 578): "In any way, regarding the archæological results, I must most particularly insist to request the linguists, to submit the relationship between the austro-asiatic and austronesian languages to a very close examination again."—Of course, nothing seems to be more motived than this examination!

Finally, another and the last aspect of the problem. In the course of a discussion on the same subject at the "Société Asiatique" in Paris, a scholar stated the opinion, that the term "austro-asiatic" ought to be kept, not however *Schmidt's* one which gave rise to objections, but only as a very general term, since it must be applicable to at least some languages of the same family. In other words, the languages of the austric Asia, *i.e.* of South-Eastern Asia, are not without affinities: there are certainly among them some ones which will be one day grouped into one linguistic family. Concerning this latter view of the question, it must not only be disallowed, but it must be even *surpassed*. It is well-known, that only in Indo-China skulls of melanesian, indonesian, australoid and negrito races, *i.e.* of *four different races* have been found. So what is more probable is that it is not only into *one* family of languages but into *several families* that it might be found possible to group in future the tongues of that part of Asia; *viz.* that we could once meet with not only one, but several "austro-asiatic" families. But then, to keep the term "austro-asiatic", would mean a perpetuation of much the same error, as for instance, we shall make should we designate the tongues of the

South-East Europe by "austro-european" languages. Such a family would include besides *indo-european* ones, (as *e.g.* russian), also *altaian* languages, (as *e.g.* tartar), and further *ouralian* languages (such as mordvin, south of the elbow of the Volga). Thus until we are better informed there can be no question of this solution. The terms "austro-asiatic" and "austrie" must not mean anything anymore; it would be too dangerous to employ them.

PRĒLAVARAM GRANT OF KĀPAYA NĀYAKA

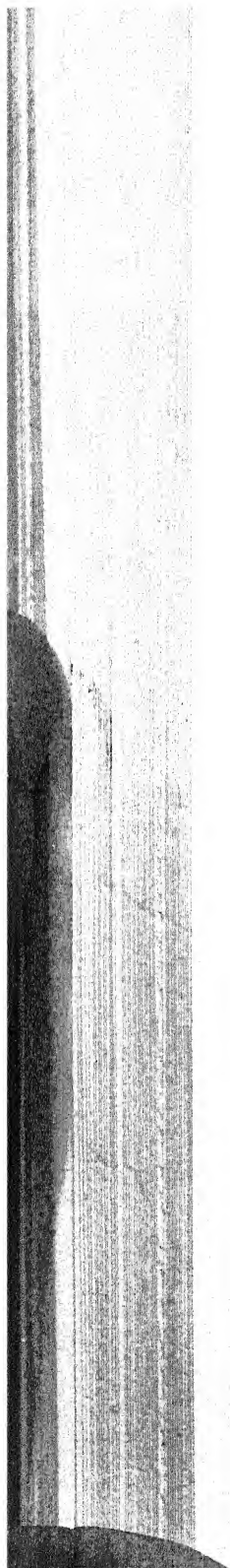
By M. Somasekhara Sarma

This new set of copper-plates has been, for many years, in the possession of the zamindar of Guraza, Nuzvid Taluq, Kriṣṇa District. No information is available as to how he came to possess this set. When Ubhayabhāṣāpravīṇa Sreemati Atlūri Seetamma garu, who takes much interest in historical research, had been to Guraza, she came to know of the existence of these plates. So she went to the Zamindar and asked him for the plates, which he readily consented to give. In course of time, when this set came into the hands of my friend, Mr. Gūḍavalli Rāmabrahmam Choudury, editor of the Telugu Weekly, the Prajāmitra, he kindly handed it over to me for editing. After some time, I took facsimile impressions of the plates and returned them to him. Before returning them to him, I carefully checked the readings once again. I now edit the plates from the impressions I have taken.

This set contains only two plates, both sides of which, are inscribed. This is rather contrary to the general practice of keeping the first and last sides of the first and last plates in an inscription, blank. Each plate measures $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. To string these plates together by means of a ring, there is a hole on the left side of each plate, $\frac{1}{2}''$ distant from the rim. It is unfortunate that both the ring and the royal seal, generally attached to it, are lost, even when the plates were with the Zamindar.

The writing is boldly engraved and well preserved. Only the first and the last sides are slightly damaged. The characters are Telugu and belong to the Telugu-Canarese alphabet of what Burnell calls "the transitional period". They are more or less akin to those of the Akkalapūṇḍi grant of Singaya Nāyaka.¹ This was the period when the old Telugu alphabet was rapidly developing into the

¹Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 25ff.



modern one, as such we find most of the letters assuming modern forms, leaving their old ones. The sign for the secondary form of ā was slowly forming. There is practically no difference between the letters ca and cha, and ḍa and ḍha. Da is distinguishable from ḍa by its curl at the bottom to the left, into the letter proper. This was also the period when the aspirates were newly coming into vogue; as such, some of the consonants are found aspirated and some not. But, generally, most of them are not aspirated. The aspirate resembles an inverted crescent and is attached to the right bottom of the letter or a little to its right (for example, see the aspirated letters:—bha—1.10; dha—1.25; gha—11. 4, 26; pha—1.17). The dravidian l has not completely attained its modern form but was still in the making (see 1.14). Unless minutely examined, the difference between di and ṭi and pa and va is not striking (see, 11. 32 and 34; 11. 14 and 15). The aspiration of the letter bha is represented by the usual head-stroke (talakaṭṭu) and this is the only difference between the aspirated bha and ba. The long bhā is distinguishable from long bā by the angle, which the former makes with the left prong of the talakaṭṭu; in the latter, that angle is not found. The long sā appears with a head-stroke also. The conjunct consonant ddh is always written as dhdh.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, with the exception of that portion (from 11. 29 to 41), which describes the boundaries, of the village granted, in Telugu. All the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is in Verse and no imprecatory verses are added at the end of the inscription, as is usually done. The Telugu words Kunivaḍi, mōcu, pōtugaṭṭu and eḍavrappi are worth noting. Kunivaḍi is a compound of two words kuni and paḍi and means turning into an angle. Perhaps kuni is a variant of the Telugu word kōṇa, which means an angle. Mōcu is used here in the sense of touching, which is rather peculiar. Pōtu is used in Pōtugaṭṭu in the sense of big and the word means a big bund, just as pōtu karaḍu means a big wave. Even now, this term is in vogue in the Northern Circars, in the form of Pōtagaṭṭu. The meaning of 'eḍavrappi' is unintelligible.

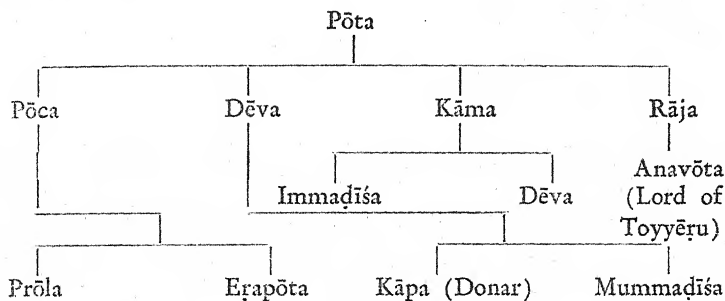
This is a record of Kāpaya Nāyaka, who flourished

in Āndhradēśa, in the middle of the fourteenth century. This is a very important grant, in as much as this is the only one, hitherto discovered, of this king. This supplies us with the exact date, when he flourished, the pedigree of his family and mentions his capital.

The inscription opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu, who incarnating himself as Ādivarāha, uplifted the earth, which was submerged under water (11. 1—3). In the next eleven lines, Kāpayā Nāyaka's lineage was described (11. 3—14). In the fourth caste, was born King Pōta, like the Moon in the milk ocean. He was the foremost amongst righteous people; in munificence, he was a child (Pōta) of the Kālpa tree and in fording the ocean of calamity, he was a bark (Pōta) to all people. He was the prop of the wise. He had four sons, like the four arms of Caturbhūja (Viṣṇu), namely (1) Pōca, (2) Dēva, (3) Kāma and (4) Rāja. Prōla and Erapōta were the two sons of Pōca. To Dēva, was born Kāpa and Mummaḍiśa. Kāma had two sons, namely, Immaḍiśa and Dēva. Anavōta, the lord of Toyyēṛu was the son of Rāja. Among these righteous brothers, Muṣunūri Prōla ruled the earth, bringing it under one umbrella (11. 14—17). After Prōla (died), Kāpa, acquiring the whole sovereignty by the gracious munificence of lord, Viśvēśwara of Kāsi, ruled the earth. He was equal to Prātāparudra in grandeur and lived at Ekaśilānagarī (*i.e.*, Warrangal) (11. 17—21). Then the grant, in the next eight lines, informs us about the donee (11. 21—29). A dweller in the forest of Naimiśa was Śaunaka. He, a lover of the Itihāsa of Vyāsa, conducted a Satra (sacrifice), lasting for twelve years. In his lineage, was born Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa, who performed a Satrayāga (sacrifice), in the vicinity of Srīśaila. He wrote a commentary on Śiva Sahasra. He had his relations protected in the five agraḥāras. To this Peddibhaṭṭa, King Kāpa granted, in the Śaka year, reckoned by giri (7), tarka (6) and bhānu (12), *i.e.*, Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, in the month of Māgha, at the time of the Solar eclipse, the village of Prōlavaram, situated on the bank of the river Malagṇi, for the merit of Prōlaya nāyaka (11. 21—29). The English equivalent to this is 22nd, Wednesday, February, 1346 A.D. Then, in the next twelve lines, the boundaries, of the village granted, are given in

the Telugu language.

According to the record under review, the pedigree of the donar Kāpaya nāyaka is, as shown below:



Kāpaya nāyaka was a noted figure, in the medieval history of Āndhradēśa. He played a prominent part, in the history of the Āndhra country, after the dissolution of the Kākatīya empire. After the second invasion of Warrangal, in 1323, by Prince Ulūgh Khān (later on, known as Muhammad bin Tughlakh), the Kākatīya power was completely crushed. Pratāparudra II, the last of the Kākatīya monarchs, was taken captive and his kingdom was annexed to Delhi. However, the existence of Pratāparudra's inscriptions,² till 1326, leads us to believe that he was released, and was ruling the kingdom, though nominally, till that date.

The state of the country (Āndhra), after the death of Pratāparudra II was, thus, described in the Kaluvacēru grant of Anitalli, dated Śaka 1345 or 1423 A.D.³

"After Pratāparudra (II) died in freedom, his kingdom was occupied by the Mussalmans. Then Prōlaya Nāyaka rescued the earth from the Muhammadans, just as Varāha rescued it from the waters of the ocean. When Prōlaya became a guest in Swarga (*i.e.*, died), Kāpaya nāyaka, whose valour resembled that of the sun, assumed control over his kingdom by the command of Viśwēśwara. Then King Kāpaya, whose lotus feet were served by seventy five nāyaks, protected the earth by the mercy of Viśwēśwara. King Kāpaya, not only restored to Brahmans, the agrahāras,

² Ep. Coll., No. 308 of 1915.

³ Jour. Tel. Acad., Vol. II, pp. 93—112.

which were seized by the Muhammadans, but granted them, several afresh".⁴

Which was the country that was rescued by the chiefs mentioned above, from the ravages of the Muhammadans? By a careful survey of the epigraphs of this period, we come to know that,

1. The Kālīṅga country was ruled by the Gāṅga kings and was never under the sway of the Muhammadans in the middle of the 14th century.

2. The country extending from Piṭhāpuram to Kālīṅga was ruled over by Koppula chiefs, with Piṭhāpuram as their capital.⁵

3. The tract of country, lying along the river Godavary from the ghats to the sea, comprising the whole of the present Godavary delta, was under the sway of the Kōrukoṇḍa chiefs, Mummaḍi nāyaka and his brothers, with Kōrukoṇḍa, as their chief seat of Government.⁶

4. The reḍḍis established their power along the remaining coastal region of the Āndhradēśa from the river Kṛiṣṇa to roughly Kaṇḍukūr, with Addaṅki as their capital.⁷

5. In the ceded districts, are discovered some stray inscriptions of some Cōḍa kings, which testify to their rule there.⁸

Hence, it cannot be said that the eastern and southern portions, of the present Āndhra country, were conquered and ruled by Muhammadans. Though the Muhammadan armies wanted to extend their conquests, even beyond the frontiers, they were not successful in their attempts, as is testified by Bārni.⁹ Thus, it can be conclusively proved that the country, rescued and ruled by the two chiefs mentioned above, viz., Prōlaya nāyaka and Kāpaya nāyaka, was not the Āndhra country in its entirety but only Teliṅgāna. For the first time in the Kaluvacēru grant, we find mention of this Kāpaya nāyaka.

Let us now try to determine, if possible, when this Teliṅgāna

⁴Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's 'Vijayanagar, Origin of the City and the Empire', p. 113.

⁵Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 35ff.

⁶Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 259 and Vol. XIV, p. 83.

⁷C. P. Grant No. 5, 1919—20.

⁸Loc. Rec., Vol. XV, pp. 51-2; Vol. 15-3-27.

⁹Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 234.

was rescued from the Muhammadans. Muhammad bin Tughlak ascended the throne in 1325 A.D. Bārni mentions the provinces of Telāng and Kampila, as being included in the empire of Delhi, even at the beginning of Muhammad's reign. He got a land revenue register prepared for the province of Teliṅgāna, which was newly annexed to Delhi. In the opinion of Mr. Haig, this work would not have been finished within 1326 A.D.¹⁰ While the war was in progress with the Rāja of Kampili, who had given shelter to the rebel, Gurṣāsp, Muhammad arrives at Daulatābād, in 1327 A.D. As stated by Haig, it was probably Gurṣāsp's rebellion that convinced Muhammad of the necessity of a more central position than Delhi, for the capital of his empire, for, the same year *i.e.*, in 1327, he made Dēvagiri his capital, renaming it Daulatābād. So, with the change of the imperial capital from Delhi to Daulatābād, it may be presumed, that the province of Teliṅgāna was under the direct and immediate supervision of the Sultan himself, as we do not hear of any governors, ruling over that province. Daulatābād was, thus, the capital of India, for nearly eight or nine years, till 1336 A.D. and the chief place of residence of the Sultan, even though he was occasionally absent from that town, during that period. Thus, it can be seen, that it was not possible for any one to conquer the country of Teliṅgāna before 1335.

The Sultan, desiring to quell the rebellion of 1335 A.D., of Syed Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan, who was appointed by him to rule over Ma'bar, started from Delhi and reached Warrangal in 1335-6, on his way to Ma'bar. There a severe attack of cholera broke out in his army and even the Sultan fell sick. His health was much impaired. Hence, he had to abandon the project of leading an expedition against that rebel, and was compelled to retreat. When he left Warrangal, he divided, for the sake of administrative convenience, the province of Teliṅgāna into two, the northern and the southern, with Warrangal, renamed Sultānpur, and Bīdar, as their respective capitals. Malik Kabūl¹¹ and Nusrat Khān were

¹⁰ Haig — 'Five questions in the history of the Tughlak Dynasty of Delhi' (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. for 1922).

¹¹ Elliot and Dowson., Vol. III, p. 243. Elsewhere (p. 245), the name of the Naib Wazir of Teliṅgāna, was given by Bārni as Malik Makkbūl.

appointed governors of these two provinces respectively. It will, thus, be seen that the reconquest of the province of Teliṅgāna could have been affected, not before 1335 A.D., but after that year.

The only revolt, known to have broken out, during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak, among the Hindus of Warrangal, was that of Kanyā nāik. While describing the rebellious state of the country round Sannām and Sāmāna, Ziauddin Bārni states:

"While this was going on, a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanyā nāik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbūl, the naib wazir, fled to Delhi and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost."¹²

Ferishta also gives an account of this rebellion of the Hindus of Warrangal and dates it 1344 A.D., but he makes the leader of this rebellion Krishn Naig instead of Kanyā nāik. With the help of the army, sent by Ballāla dēva, Ferishta says that Krishn Naig "reduced Wurungole and compelled Imād-ool-moolk, the governor, to retreat to Daulatābād. The confederate Hindus seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans in the Daccan and expelled them. So that, within a few months Mahomad Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Daulatābād."¹³

It will, thus, be clear by the Muhammadan chronicles, that Warrangal was lost to Muhammad bin Tughlak and once again, came into the hands of Kanyā nāik of Bārni or Krishn Naig of Ferishta, in 1344-5. Kanyā nāik of Bārni and Krishn Naig of Ferishta are both identical, even though there is some variation in the name, as both the chronicles of the above-mentioned authors refer to one and the same rebellion, that broke out in 1344-5. Taking into consideration the date of the record under review and the fact that Kāpaya nāyaka, the donor of the record, was independently ruling at Warrangal, it appears pretty certain, that he is no other than Kanyā nāik of Bārni and Krishn Naig of Ferishta.

As a matter of fact, in a paper,¹⁴ entitled 'Kāpaya Nāyaka'

¹² Elliot and Dowson., Vol. III, p. 245.

¹³ Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 427.

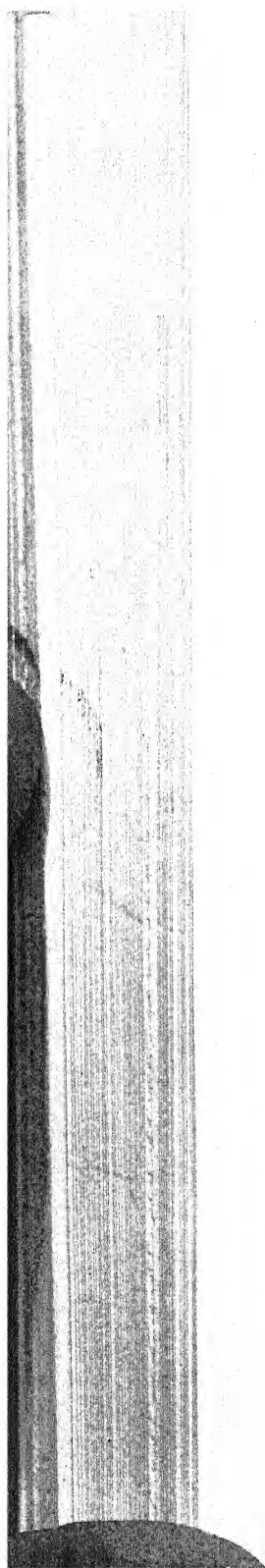
¹⁴ Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 217. In his recent work, "Vijayanagara—Origin of the city and the empire", Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has confirmed my identification, tackling the problem from a different point of view (vide, Appendix C, pp. 171-176).

1st PLATE, 2nd SIDE

11.
 16.
 21.

Prōlavaram grant of Kāpayanāyaka Śaka , 1267.

J. B. O. R. S., 1934.



I tried to establish his identity with Kanyā nāik of Bārni and Krishn Naig of Ferishta and have assigned the inscriptions at Gaṇapēśwaram¹⁵ (Kriṣṇa District), and the Pillalamarri¹⁶ (Nalgonda District, Nizam's Dominions), dated 1346 and 1356 respectively, to him. The Pillalamarri inscription, in addition to the title Anumanagaṇṭi puravarādhīśwara (lord of Anumanagallu), also found in the Gaṇapēśwaram inscription, gives him the title of Āndhra deśādhīśwara (over-lord of the Āndhra country). The Śrīraṅgam copper-plate grant¹⁷ of Śaka 1280, of Mummaḍi nāyaka and the Akkalapūṇḍi copper-plate grant¹⁸ of Siṅgama nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi nāyaka, dated Śaka 1290, supply us with the interesting information that the former chief was related to Kāpaya nāyaka, having married the daughter of his sister. The latter of the two above-mentioned grants gives Kāpaya nāyaka the title of Āndhra Suratrāṇa, which means the same as Āndhra Deśādhīśwara. Taking into account the titles, borne by the chiefs bearing the name of Kāpaya nāyaka, in the above-mentioned inscriptions and the period when they flourished, one is compelled to come to the conclusion that those are not different persons and that the inscriptions all refer to one and the same Kāpaya nāyaka.

Thus, the inscription under review, is a very important one, in as much as it confirms the statement of the Muhammadan historians, Bārni and Ferishta, that as a result of the rebellion of the Hindus of Warrangal, the province of Teliṅgāna was lost to Muhammadans and it was Kāpaya nāyaka, who hoisted the flag of Hindu independence. It rejects, as false, the statement of Ferishta, that Krishn Naig (Kāpaya nāyaka) was the son of Luddur Dew (Pratāparudra II). It mentions Muṣunūri as the family name,¹⁹ to which Prōlaya and Kāpaya belonged. Besides stating that Ēkaśilānagarī or Warrangal was the capital of Kāpaya nāyaka, it mentions Toyyēru as the chief seat of Government of Anavōta, an uncle's son of Kāpaya nāyaka. This inscription supports also the

¹⁵ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 950.

¹⁶ 'Sujāta', Vol. I, No. 2.

¹⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 83ff.

¹⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 259ff.

¹⁹ The Kaluvacēru grant, besides stating that Kāpaya nāyaka ruled after Prōlaya nāyaka, furnishes us with some more details. It says, that after the

statement, made in the Kaluvacēru grant of Anitalli, that after rescuing the country from the Muhammadans, Prōlaya nāyaka and Kāpaya nāyaka ruled it successively. Though no evidence is forthcoming to ascertain the part played by Prōlaya nāyaka, in delivering the country from the Muslim yoke, the repulses, met with by the Mogul armies, while attacking the frontiers, after the fall of Warrangal, as recorded by Bārni, may perhaps be due to the vigorous onslaughts of Prōlaya nāyaka and his able armies. Thus, Prōlaya nāyaka may be said to have saved the country from the ravages of the Muhammadans. Moreover, it clears all doubts regarding the relationship between Prōlaya and Kāpaya nāyakas and explicitly states that they were brother's sons.

The grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse, in the month of Māgha (*i.e.*, on Māgha bahula 30) of the cyclic year, Pārthiva, in Śaka 1267. The corresponding English date is, as has been stated before, Wednesday, 22nd February, 1346 A.D. On this date, there was a solar eclipse. It appears as if Kāpaya nāyaka made this grant, just after the successful termination of his war with the Mussalmans.

The places, mentioned in this grant, are Ēkaśilānagari, Toyyēru

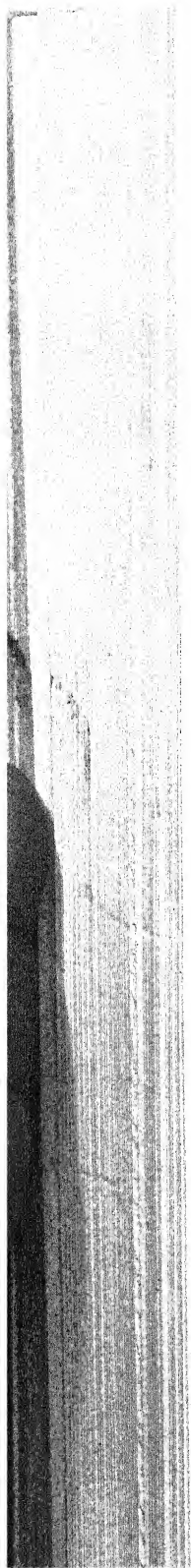
death of prōlaya nāyaka, "the nāyakas retired to their respective places, where they began to rule independently", and Vēma was one of them. He is no other than the founder of the Redḍi kingdom of Addaṅki. No inscriptions of his were discovered before 1330 A.D. A mention is made in the Local Records (Vol., LVII, p. 131), of a copper-plate grant of his, dated 1330 A.D. If this evidence is set aside, his first authentic record, reviewed by the Government Epigraphy Department, is dated Saka 1257 or 1335 A.D. By the nature of the record, it may be presumed that the king was ruling at that time independently. Placing reliance upon the Kaluvacēru grant, which gives us to understand that Vēma's independent rule began only after the death of Kāpaya nāyaka, I tentatively identified the latter with Kāpaya nāyaka of the Koppula family, grand-father of Nāmaya nāyaka and came to the conclusion that there were two chiefs bearing the name of Kāpaya nāyaka, between 1326 and 1370 A.D., who rescued the country from the clutches of the Muhammadans. I concluded that Kāpaya nāyaka of the Koppula family was the successor of Prōlaya nāyaka of the Kaluvacēru grant and identified the second one with the Victor of the Muhammadan chronicles, during the rebellion of 1344-5 A.D., with Kāpaya nāyaka, the relative of Mummaḍi nāyaka and the bearer of the titles of Āndhara Suratrāṇa and Āndhara dēśādhiśwara. In the light of the present record under review, the above-mentioned facts are to be corrected. Now, it is clear that Kāpaya nāyaka, the relative of Mummaḍi nāyaka and the bearer of the titles Āndhara dēśādhiśwara and Āndhara Suratrāṇa is the same as the successor of Prōlaya nāyaka of the Kaluvacēru grant, Kanyā nāik of Bārni and Krishn Naig of Ferishta. He was Muṣunuri Kāpaya nāyaka, but not Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka.

IInd PLATE, 1st SIDE

[illegible]

Prōlavaram grant of Kāpayanāyaka, Śaka, 1267.

J. B. O. R. S., 1934.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

and Prōlavaram. Ēkaśilānagari is Warrangal, the well-known capital of the Kākatīya monarchs. Toyṣṛu is a village in the Cōḍavaram Taluq of the East Godavary Agency District. Prōlavaram, the village granted, is said to be situated on the bank of the river Malaghni. No river is known by that name, either in the Nizam's Dominions or in the Kriṣṇa, Godavari and Guntur Districts. A bath in the Gautami branch of the river Godavari, that flows by the side of Kōṭipalli, in the Rāmacandrapuram Taluq of the present East Godavari District, has virtue to expiate the most terrible of sins, even incest with a mother. Hence, it is locally known as Māṭṛigamanāghahāri (Māṭṛigamana + aghahāri)—that which removes the sin of incest with a mother. The term Malaghni has the same meaning as aghahāri. While the meaning of the former term is destroyer of sin, that of the latter is remover of sin. So, if by the river Malaghni, is understood that branch of the Godavary, the village granted also should be somewhere, on its bank. In fact, there is a village Pōlavaram (81° 10' E. Long; 16° 10' N. Lat.) on the bank of that branch of the Godavari, near Mummaḍivaram, in the Amalāpuram Taluq, East Godavari District, which should be identified with Prōlavaram of the present record.

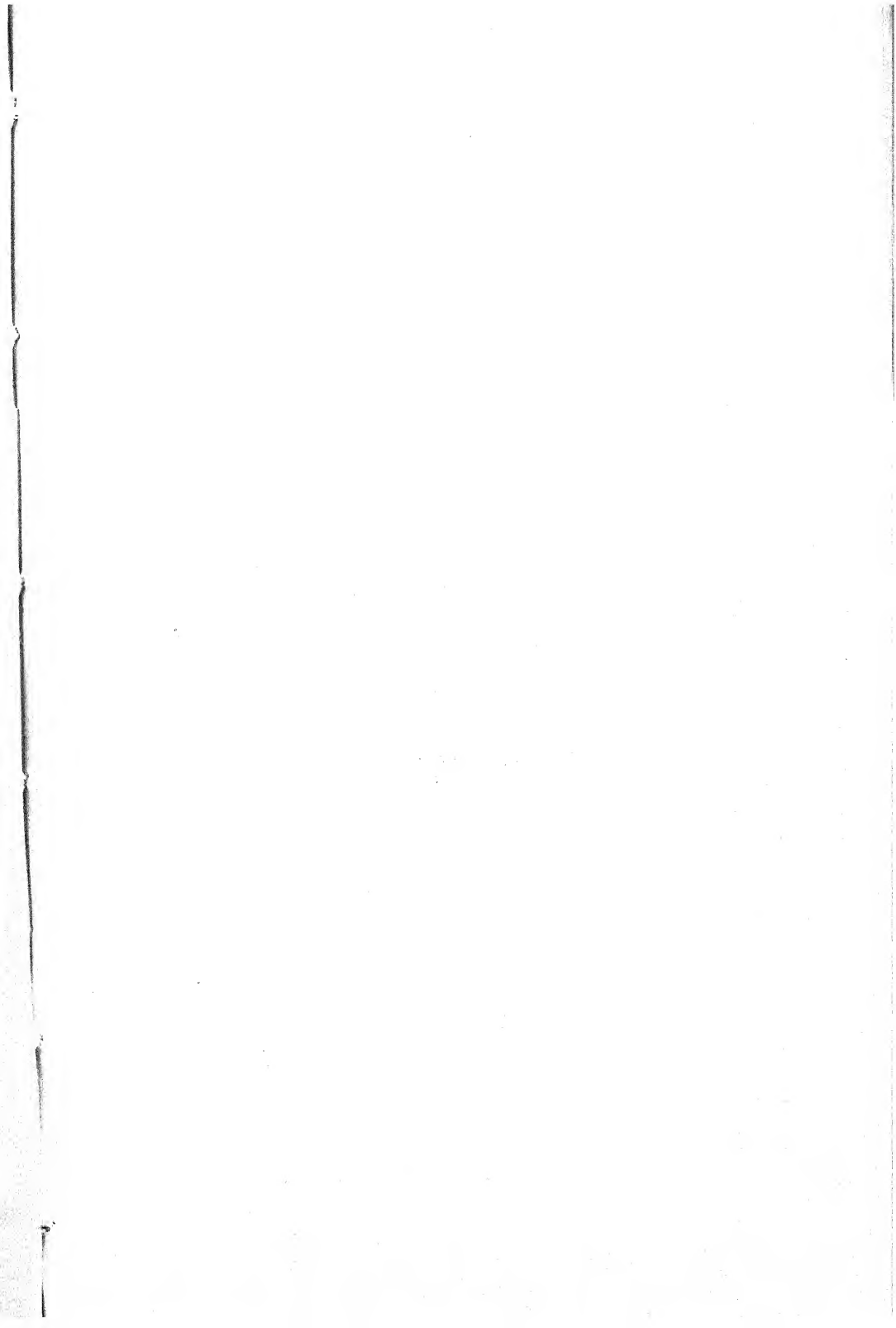
This gives us an idea of the extent of the kingdom of Kāpaya nāyaka. The tract of country that lies along the river Godavari from Warrangal to the sea, was directly held by him or by his relatives. While he was administering the Teliṅgāna himself, the country, near the Ghats, was under Anavōta and the delta portion, under the rule of the Kōrukōṇḍa chiefs, Mummaḍi nāyaka and his brothers. The existence of an inscription at Gaṇapēśwaram, Divi taluq, Kriṣṇa District, proves unequivocally that the tract of country, between the rivers Godavari and the Kriṣṇa, was also under his direct rule. The country, that lies to the south of the Kriṣṇa was controlled by the Reḍḍis; contiguous with the principality of the Kōrukōṇḍa chiefs, in the north, lay the dominion of the Koppula nāyakas, to the south of Kaliṅga. Thus, after the fall of Warrangal, many nāyakas probably subordinates of the Kākatīyas of Warrangal, set up independent principalities of their own on the east coast of the Āndhra country.

Whatever may be the truth of the statement, made in the

Kaluvacēru grant, that the several nāyakas, who were subordinate to Kāpaya nāyaka, ruled independently after his death, it seems as if they were united to him by loose ties of feudal tenure, even when he was alive, and that there was rivalry between these chiefs. An inscription of the Koppula chiefs at Simhācalam,²⁰ informs us that Nāmaya nāyaka's grand-father, Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka, was the ruler of the Gudravāṭi Viṣaya, surrounded by the Godavari and the Kriṣṇa. This means the territory, between the rivers Godavari and Kriṣṇa, was originally under the sway of Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka. As the date of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant²¹ of Nāmaya nāyaka is 1337, his grand-father, Kāpaya nāyaka must have lived still earlier. Thus, he might have been the ruler of that portion of the country, even during the last years of Pratāparudra II. As it was explicitly stated in the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of Nāmaya nāyaka, that his territory was extending from the river Godavari to the confines of Kaliṅga, it is certain that the Koppula chiefs lost their territory to the south of the Godavari, owing, perhaps, to the aggression of the Kōru-koṇḍa chiefs, backed up by their relationship with Muṣunūri Kāpaya nāyaka, the Āndhra Suratrāṇa of the inscriptions or the wali of Telingāna of the Muhammadan chronicles.

²⁰ S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 822.

²¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 356.



IInd PLATE, 2nd SIDE

32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Prölavaram grant of Kāpayanāyaka, Śaka, 1267.

TEXT¹

FIRST PLATE, FIRST SIDE

1. अव्याज्जगन्ति विभुरादिवराहमूर्ति [1*] भर्ता भुवो
रुचिर बा
2. लतमाल नीलः । आविर्बभूव किल यस्य महांबुलीने [1*]
दंष्ट्रामृणा
3. लशिखरे धरणीसरोजं² । [1*] आसीत्पोतमहोपति स्सुकृ-
तिना माद्योज
4. गद्विश्रुतः [1*] पोतः कल्पमहीरुहस्य विलसद्विश्राणन
श्लाघया [1*] पोतो
5. यं³ विपदंबुराशितरणे सर्वप्रजानामपि [1*] क्षीराब्धा-
विव चंद्रमा
6. बुधजनाधार श्चतुर्त्तान्वये⁴ ॥ तस्यामभूवं⁵ स्तनया
गुणाढ्या [1*]
7. श्चतुर्भुजस्येव भुजामहांतः⁶ ॥ पोचक्षितीशो नरदेवमुख्यो
[1*] देवश्च
8. कामाधिपराजभूपौ⁷ ॥ पोचक्षोणिपते स्सुतौ सुकृतिनौ
प्रोलक्षितीशोत्त
9. सः [1*] श्लाघ्य श्री⁸ रेरे⁹ पोतभूपति रवि(पि) द्वौलोक-
संभावितौ । देव द्दमाधिपतिश्च का
10. प नृपति श्रीमुम्मडीशाह्वयौ [1*] संजातौ भुवि रामल
द्मण्णिभौ सूरै¹⁰ ।

¹ From the plates.² Metre : वसन्ततिलक.³ Read 'पोतोयो'.⁴ Read 'श्चतुर्त्तान्वये'. Metre : शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.⁵ Read 'तस्यामभूवं'.⁶ One line is enough.⁷ Metre : इन्द्रवज्र.⁸ Read 'श्लाघ्य श्री'.⁹ Telugu r is shown, in the text above, with a horizontal line beneath it.¹⁰ Read 'सूरै'. The mark at the end is unnecessary.

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE

11. दुतुल्यश्रियौ¹¹ । [1*] कामक्षितीशतनयौ पुनरिम्मडीश
[1*] देवप्रभूभुवन्वि
12. श्रुतदानशीलौ । प्रत्रोपि¹² राजनृपतेरनवोतभूप [1*]
स्तोय्येतिनामन
13. गरीपति रार्यबंधुः¹³ ॥ एतेषां सहजन्मनां सुकृतिनां
मध्ये प्रसि
14. ध्वोधयः¹⁴ [1*] क्षोणीचक्रमवक्रविक्रमयश स्संभाव्य-
बाहार्गलः । एक छत्रमपा¹⁵
15. लय द्बुधजन श्लाघ्यप्रभावोन्नतो [1*] लक्ष्मीवान्मुषुनूरि
प्रोलनृपति स्सध्वं
16. धु¹⁶ चित्तामणिः¹⁷ ॥ तस्यानंतर मंत्ररंग¹⁸ विमली भाव-
प्रभावो
17. दयः [1*] श्लाघ्यप्रस्फुटधर्मकर्म¹⁹ चतुर श्रीकापपृध्वो-
पतिः । काश्यां विश्वप
18. तेः प्रसादमहिमा प्राप्ताखिलप्राभवः [1*] क्षोणीरक्षणधक्षध-
क्षिण²⁰ भुज स्तंभोजरी
19. जंभते²¹ [1*] प्रतापरुद्रप्रतिमप्रभावः श्रीकापभूपः
करुणाकलापः । अशा
20. दशेषां भुवमद्भुतश्री रेकोवस त्रेकशिलानगय्यां²² । [1*]
आसीन्नेमिशाना
21. मपावनवनावोसो²³ महासंयमी [1*] व्याप्तद्वादशवष-
सत्रमहिमा

¹¹ Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

¹² Read 'पुत्रोपि'.

¹³ Read 'रार्यबंधुः'. Metre: वसन्ततिलक.

¹⁴ Read 'प्रसिद्धोदयः'.

¹⁵ Read 'एकच्छत्र'.

¹⁶ Read 'स्सद्वंधुचित्तामणिः'.

¹⁷ Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

¹⁸ Read 'मंत्ररंग'.

¹⁹ Read 'धर्मकर्म'.

²⁰ Read 'दक्षदक्षिण'.

²¹ Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

²² Read 'नगया'. Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्र.

²³ Read 'नैमिशानाम पावनवनावोसो'.

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

22. व्यासेतिहासप्रियः । अंहस्संवभयानक स्त्रिभुवने सध्दान²⁴
कीर्त्या
23. नकः [1*] क्षामक्षीणसमस्तदीनजनता संत्तानक रशौ-
नकः²⁵ तस्यान्वये ज
24. यडि²⁶ कंदयपेदिभट्टः [1*] श्रीशैलसीम्नि कृतविश्रुत²⁷
सत्रयागः । व्याख्या
25. नकृ द्विगिरिशनामसहस्रकस्य [1*] पंचाग्रहारपरिरक्षित
बंधुवर्गः²⁸ ॥
26. शाकाब्दे गिरितर्क²⁹भानुगणिते संवत्सरे³⁰ पार्त्तिवे³¹
[1*] माघेमासि रविग्र
27. हे सुचरितश्रीकापट्वीपतिः । श्रीमत्प्रोलमहीपते स्सुकृतिनः
28. पुण्याय पुण्याशयः [1*] ग्रामं प्रोलवराह्वयं स्वयं म
29. दा तत्तस्मै मलच्छीतटे³² । लस्य³³ ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥
तूर्पुनकु ॥
30. दक्षिणमुखमै पारिन् पेहकोडुसीम । दक्षिणानकु ।
आकोडु
31. दग्गट वच्चिन पोतुगटु³⁴ पडुमर-मुखमै पोयि
कुनिवडि [द*]

²⁴ Read 'सदान'.²⁵ Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.²⁶ Read 'जयति'.²⁷ The writer first forgot to write त. So, he put a plus mark below between शु and स and has written त above.²⁸ Read 'वर्गः'. Metre: वसन्ततिलक.²⁹ Read 'तर्क'.³⁰ Read 'संवत्सरे'.³¹ Read 'पार्थिवे'.³² Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.³³ Read 'अस्य'.³⁴ Read 'पोतुगटु'.

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

32. क्षिणमुखमुगा सागि मांकिगुंदलोपलगा वच्चि कुानवडि
33. दक्षिणमै पोयि मलंगि येडन्नप्पि मोचि पडुमर_ मुखमै
34. सागिन पोतुगट्टुमलंगि पेडन्नप्पि मोचेनु ॥ पडुमटि-
किनि उत्त
35. रसुमुखमै सागिन पोतुगट्टु जम्मिकडंगानु तूर्पु
36. मोगमै मलंगि येप्पटिन्नि उत्तरपुमोगमै वच्चि कुनिव
37. डि पडुमर मुखमै सागि पेडदोड्डिलोनुगा वच्चि तुम्म
38. लपुट्ट मोचेनु ॥ उत्तरानकु तूर्पुमोगमुगा वच्चिन पोतुग
39. ट्टु उप्पिपोदलुसोमगानु कुंटकड पुट्टवंपुगानु उत्त
40. रपुमोगमुगा मलंगि लिंगमुगुंटकडंगानु सा
41. गि तूर्पुन पेडकोडु मोचेनु ॥

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BHAGALPUR IN PRE-BRITISH DAYS

By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A.

The earliest reference to Bhagalpur in the Muhammadan period is to be traced to Ain-i-Akbari, the *vade-mecum* of the Great Mughal's court, where it is mentioned as one of the 31 Mahāls or parganas under the *Sarkar* or the revenue division of Munger (Monghyr), which had an assessment of over a lac of rupees. Bhagalpur continued to remain as an appanage to Munger till the last days of the Muslim rule, and it was in 1779 A.D., when by virtue of the authority bestowed upon the Hon'ble East India Company by the grant of the Diwani, which made them full-fledged administrators of Bengal, that William Harwood was appointed the first supervisor with his headquarter at Rajmahal to which was attached Bhagalpur. But it was not till 3rd Dec. 1790 that the post of Naib Nazim was abolished, a new fouzday arrangement inaugurated and four courts of circuits established.

The writer of this article while engaged in the work of examining Provincial records of Bihar and Orissa discovered papers that throw light on the system of judicial administration that obtained at Bhagalpur at the dawn of the company's rule. In the archives of the collector of Bhagalpur there are two old correspondence, dating the 5th July and 1st November, 1792, from the Collector of Boglipore (Bhagalpur) to the President, Council of Revenue, Fort William Bengal, that furnish a report of the persons by whom the Zila Kazi office was held in the District of Bhagalpur, and of their functions, salaries and other incidental details.

The aforesaid communications mention that Muḥammad Laik held the office of the Zila Kazi of Bhagalpur under sanads granted to him by Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Saiyid Aḥmad 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Najm-ud-din Khān, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzats or the Chief

Kazis of Suba Bihar on the 19th Muharram, 1195, Zilkauḍ 1198, and 1206 H.

In those days Rajmahal formed a separate Zila and was under the jurisdiction of a separate Kazi. Ghulām 'Alī Reza, the Kazi of Rajmahal, received, like his compeer at Bhagalpur, sanads from the Chief Kazis, Sa'iyid Aḥmad 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Najm-ud-din Khān on 1200 and 1206 H. respectively.

The district Kazi of Bhagalpur exercised dual functions. In addition to the fouzḍary or the criminal cases over which he presided, the Kazi had to witness deeds, perform marriages and funerals in certain portion of his District. Theoretically though, the Zila Kazi had to decide the civil and criminal cases in addition to his function in connection with social matters, such as in attending the marriages or the funeral ceremonies, in practice, however, he personally attended the fouzḍary court only, whereas his other duties alluded to above were conducted by his assistants, who, likewise, had under them sub-assistants for assisting and relieving them of a portion of their work. The appointments and dismissal of the principal assistants were in the hands of the Zila Kazi, and as a corollary, the sub-assistants were completely under the control of the principal assistants in matters of appointment and dismissal.

The Zila Kazi of Bhagalpur had under him the following four principal assistants,

- (1) Muḥammad Aḥmad residing at Bhagalpur,
 - (2) Muḥammad 'Azim residing at Colgong,
 - (3) Nasīmullah residing at Biḥpur,
- and (4) Muḥammad Afzal residing at Gogri.

Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Principal Naib for pargana Bhagalpur, had five inferior *Naibs* under him. Their names and stations are given thus. Khusru resided at Jubbarchuk, Ghulām Ashraf at Champānagar, Imām Bukhsh at Munniharee, Bhoju at Barkope and Hozaul at Dākhilkunj.

The second Principal Naib, Muḥammad 'Azim stationed at Colgong, had three assistants under him. They were Imām Bukhsh, Ghulām Ashrūf and Imam 'Alī living at Mudban, Sultāngunj and Barārī respectively.

Nasīmullah, the third Principal Naib, having jurisdiction over

the pargana Chchye and residing at Bihpur, had, like the Principal Naib at Colgong, three assistants, viz., Sobhāni, Bashir and Sheikh Bakhsh posted at Muddadeis, Sa'iyidābād and Mouza Madheley respectively.

The fourth Principal Naib, Muḥammad Afzal, placed in charge of pargana Chchye, held his court at Gogri. He likewise, had three inferior naibs, but their names and stations are not known.

As seen above, the zila of Bhagalpur, which was placed within the jurisdiction of Suba Bihar, necessitated the appointments of nineteen judicial officers. Besides, the Zila Kazi whose headquarters was at Bhagalpur, there were his four Principal Assistants, three of whom had three assistants each, the only exception being the Assistant at Bhagalpur, who had five instead of three assistants under him.

The monthly allowance of the District Kazi was Rupees Sixty-five, and those of his Principal Assistants Rupees Sixty only. But as regards the posts of the Inferior Naibs or the Sub-Assistants, no emolument was attached to them, the income of those officers being the "fees" which, as the report goes, were also shared by their immediate superiors, the Principal Assistants.

Some alterations and changes were effected in the list of the judges in the year 1782 A.D., when the three Principal Naibs of Bhagalpur, Colgong and Chchye being dismissed from their offices for causes not particularly known, the vacant offices were duly filled up by three new incumbents. Some changes in the rules regarding the terms of appointment of the judicial officers having set in by the time the fresh appointments were made, the new appointees unlike their predecessors in office, received no monthly allowance but obtained, like the Inferior Naibs, "fees" instead. But the Principal Assistant at Gogri, unlike his compeers, continued receiving monthly salaries which was further increased in that year (1782 A.D.). Under the new arrangement the positions of the inferior Naibs remained the same and were not altered.

With the abolition of the office of the Naib Nazim, the allowance attached to the post of the Principal Assistant at Gogri was also discontinued.

It should be here noted that there was no fixed rate of the "fees" received by the Kazis. In cases of marriage, the fee ranged from Rupee one and annas four to nothing, in funerals from annas four to Rupee one and annas four, in witnessing papers Rupee one and annas four to even a lesser amount, but in cases of official attendance at festivals they were fed by the parties concerned. We should here remember that the rate mentioned above related to poor Mahommedans only, the richer people paid more.

The Kazis of Suba Bihar had their seats at Surjigurrah, Selimabad, Monghyr and Kuruckpur. These offices were generally hereditary and remained in the same family. Excepting the official "fees", no salaries or allowances were attached to the posts.

The post of Kazi at Surjigurrah devolved on Ghulām Mukaddam and his heirs with a rent-free land of forty bighas as an appanage. 'Ali Ashghūr was the Kazi of Selimābād and in his absence it was to go to his heirs and successors. Ashghūr obtained fifty bighas of rent-free land. Muḥammad Murād was the Kazi at Chandanbhukā and to him was allotted one-hundred and fifty bighas of land.

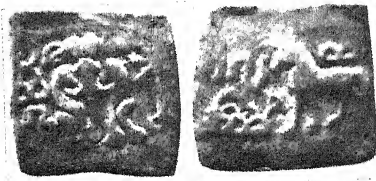
Ghulām Husain was the District Kazi of Rajmahal, and the office was conferred upon him by Muḥammad Reza Khān. Like the Principal Assistant Kazis, Husain got no salary but official fees. The District Kazi of Rajmahal had under him twenty-five Assistants stationed at the following places, Kānkjole, Dānāpur, Mangalpur, Bāhādurpur, Havilly Tandāh, Pargana Fallakhānā, Bettia Gopālpur, Shikārpur, Begumābād, Amgāchy, Ghiāspur, Pargana Mocrain, Akbarpur, Garbound, Hatindāh, Sarhurmarkour, Maldowar, Munneharee and Sicreegully.

Kasim Bakhsh, the Kazi of parganas Monghyr and Kuruckpur resided at Kuruckpur. He held 427 bighas of rent-free land—127 bighas at Monghyr and 300 bighas at Kuruckpur.

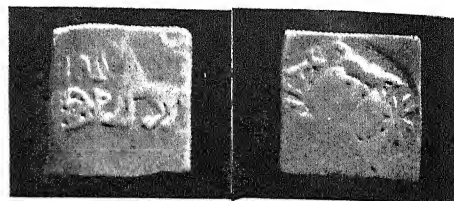
COINS OF THREE LATER MAURYA KINGS

KING DAŚARATHA [MURYA-RĀJA]

1
C.A.I.



tha ra śa Da
sa



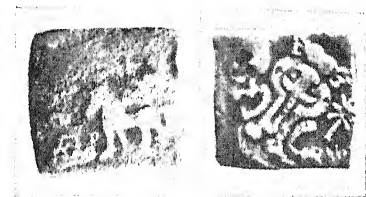
2
B.M.

ra ya Mur
sa

3
B.M.



ño ra
[śa] Da
sa tha

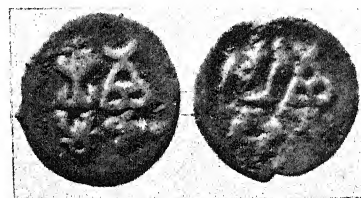


4
I.M.

ño ra
ra śa Da
sa

KING SAMPRATI MAURYA

5
C.A.I.



 ryya
↑
Mau
<monogram>

ño [ra]
pra Sam



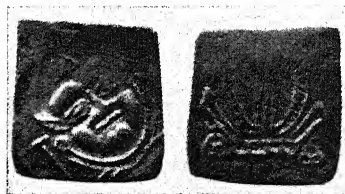
6
P.M.

ryya
↑
Mau

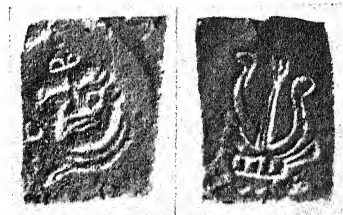
Sa pa
ti sa

SUBHAGASENA

7
C.A.I.



Subhagase na sa



8
I.M.

Subhagase ..

K. P. J.

J. B. O. R. S., XX.

EARLY SIGNED COINS OF INDIA

By K. P. Jayaswal

I. Later Maurya Coins [240 B.C.—188 B.C.]

§ 1. Maurya Chronology.

Taking the initial year of Chandragupta, as worked out on the basis of the Jaina chronology and verified with the Purāṇic and Buddhist data¹, to be 325 B.C.², we may assign the following dates to the Maurya kings. [According to the Matsya, Kunāla did not succeed Aśoka ('the grandson of Aśoka'), *tasya naṭtā* succeeded Aśoka. The Jaina view seems to be the same. Most of the Purāṇas (V., Br., & V.) give 'Nine' Mauryas in the summary which must omit either Kunāla or Samprati, but the latter did rule as noted by the Jainas and Buddhists, and we have, it seems, his coins too. Hence I am omitting Kunāla from the list].

| | Years | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------------|
| 1. Chandragupta Maurya | 24 | 325—301 B.C. |
| 2. Binduśāra | 25 | 301—276 " |
| 3. Aśoka | 36 | 276—240 " |
| 4. Daśaratha | 8 | 240—232 " |
| 5. Samprati | 9 | 232—223 " |
| 6. Śaliśūka | 13 | 223—210 " |
| 7. Deva-dharman | 7 | 210—203 " |
| 8. Śāta-dharman | 8 | 203—195 " |
| 9. Brīhadaśva [Brīhaspati] | 7 | 195—188 " |

137

The total, 137 years, exactly agrees with the dynastic total given by the Purāṇas to the "Nine Mauryas".

¹ J. B. O. R. S., I. 97 ff.

² See on this date the latest view of Vincent Smith (EHL, 4th ed., p. 206 where he says that the initial year of Chandragupta is "possibly a year or two earlier" than 323 B.C.).

authors had before them the first member more likely as *Śāta* than *Śata*, for *Śata* with *dhanyan* or with *dharmā* would hardly give a sensible phrase, while *Śāta* would.

We have three coins of King Śāta:

- (1) V. Smith, C.I.M., Pl. XIX. 20, copper, cast; p. 152, Avanti list, No. 4 [*Śātasa*].
- (2) Rapson, C.A.D., Pl. 1, no. 1 (lead)
- (3) and 2 (potin); p. 1, p. xcii.

The Indian Museum cast 'copper' coin (V. Smith's) and the British Museum (Rapson's) 'potin' coin agree in design. Nos. (1) and (3) agree with the Śunga coin of Aja of Mathurā [J.B.O.R.S., XX. 6; see also below].

Śāta cannot be identified with the 'Andhra' king *Śātakarṇi*. For the coins of *Śātakarṇi* have the name as *Śātakarṇi*. [see Rapson's C.A.D., plate I. no. 9 and others on that plate; also the joint issue of *Śātakarṇi* and his relation Kalālā(r)ya Mahārathin, E. I., VII. 51, pl. III; Rapson, C.A.D., pl. VIII, nos. 233-234, pp. 57, 58.⁶]

The provenance of the British Museum coins is not known, but on account of the symbols and fabric they have been assigned to Malwa (W. Malwa) by Prof. Rapson (p. xcii ff). The river symbol (with fish) may be compared with the Eran coins (Cunningham, C.A.I., XI, 16-18), which would vacate an exclusive attribution to Western Malwa. They are Vidiśā coins, with the specific Vidiśā cross. The symbols are Mauryan, the hill-with-crescent (obliterated, pl. 1, no. 1), elephant with tusks, and svastika (top of no. 1).

The coin of *Śāta* in C.I.M., XIX. 20, definitely belongs to Vidiśā, see the river with fish which we find on the Eran coins. As a cast coin it is allied to the Kosam and Pāṭaliputra system.

§ 4. Maurya symbolism on Andhra coins.

The tusker with the upraised trunk and the standard, svastika, the tree, and the moon-on-hill design (with its variations) on the

⁶ The joint issue seems to be the earliest, struck probably before assuming full sovereignty as against the Maurya or Pushyamitra by performance of two *Āśva-medhas*.

coins of Śāta karṇī⁷, were imitated from the preceding imperial coinage of the Mauryas; they point to their original subordinate position.

§ 5. Subhagaseṇa [B.C. 240—206 B.C.—190 B.C.??]

There is an unpublished coin at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which is coin no. 35, Taxila, in V. Smith's Catalogue (C.I.M., p. 159). It is of the same king as of the coin of Cunningham C.A.I., p. 1. III, no. 7, but here in the I.M. coin the face is younger. I take the head to be that of the king, not of a 'demon' (Cunningham and Smith). I find no protruding tongue, but a toothless mouth and a smiling face on the C.A.I. coin. The face there is of an old man of about 70 or above. The I.M. coin, which was very kindly lent to me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the original, when cleaned at the Patna Museum, showed a legend in raised letters below the head. Some letters are clear and some faded. The legend reads, beginning from the left hand bottom corner of the margin.⁸

Su [bha]gase

The coin of Cunningham which is now at the British Museum where I examined it last year, has not got the marginal portion. But its reverse bottom margin reads: *Subhagaseṇasa*.

This Subhagaseṇa is the same king who was a contemporary of Antiochus III, ruling in 206 B.C., and with whom Antiochus revived his 'old' friendship.⁹

Antiochus descended into India to have a treaty of friendship with the Maurya house, the old friends of the family of the Greek king. He was anxious to secure his position against the new and rebellious Greek house of Bactria, the next-door neighbour of the Maurya Empire. This event falls in the reign of Deva [-dharman, or, -varman], the immediate predecessor of Śāta, his time being c. 210-203 B.C. (J.B.O.R.S., I. 116). Subhagaseṇa cannot be identical with Deva Maurya as the latter's second name was not *Subhagaseṇa* but *Soma*.¹⁰ He is there-

⁷ See Rapson, C.A.D., pl. 1 and VIII (no. 233, etc.).

⁸ See herein plate I, no. 8.

⁹ McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 209; F. W. Thomas, C.H.L., p. 112.

¹⁰ Pargiter, P.T., 29.

fore to be identified with a Maurya prince in the neighbourhood of Gandhāra, the Frontier Province. This Maurya prince was probably the ruler of Kashmir, who is named 'J a l o k a' [*Jalauka*] in the history of Kashmir. He was a Śaiva son of Aśoka and was the local ruler of Kashmir after Aśoka, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.¹¹ He would answer all the indices to be gathered from his coin, the Greek account, and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. He would be the oldest—the seniormost—member of the family of Aśoka in 206 B.C. He had evidently a long reign in Kashmir where he is noted for his long activities. He would be an elderly man in 206 B.C., having completed a rule of over thirty years since his father's death c. 240 B.C. He could be described as an old friend, while the princes on the imperial throne at Pāṭliputra were men of later generations, much younger in age and short-lived. Being the son of Aśoka, he would naturally be regarded as an old friend. Antiochus seems to have returned soon from the Indian frontier to the West where his presence was needed urgently, and it is very likely that he had negotiations with *Jalauka* who was near at hand and who was next to Bactria. *Jalauka* is reputed in the Kashmir history to have cleared the foreigners from the country, which would refer to this incident of the advent of Antiochus, and also, probably conjointly, to the advent and retreat of Demetrius about 10 years later. Demetrius' invasion is probably intimately connected with this treaty of alliance in favour of Antiochus. *Jalauka* who could still be very well alive at the time, would naturally have taken a leading part in the defence of the empire, which is alluded to in the Kashmir history by noting the defeat of the Mlechchhas by *Jalauka* at a field as far removed from Kashmir as 'Kanyākubja.'

'*Jalauka*' which is a nickname ('leech') would be the popular name, while '*Subhagasena*', official, following a common Mauryan practice of having double names.

The reverse of the coin of Subhagasena has a *triśūla*, flanked by the most prominent Maurya symbol, the moon-on-hill. Above the forehead of the king's figure in the coin of the British Museum I found the same moon-on-hill. In our present coin the crescent

¹¹ Ch. I, 106—151.

of the three-arched seat, the crescent, is blurred by a decoration on the margin touching it. Its position on the forehead indicates subordination of the prince to the Maurya imperial house.

§ 6. King Daśaratha [240 B.C.—232 B.C.]

Cunningham's C.A.I., pl. III, no. 5, is clearly of Daśaratha. The legend (Kharoshthī on the *re.*) is

Daśara[tha] (first line)

sa (second line).

The new coin of this series reproduced by me on plate I, no. 4, is useful in having the title *raño* added to the name. This belongs to the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.I.M., Taxila no. 34, p. 158) which was kindly lent to me by Mr. Dikshit. It has the legend in three lines (Kh.):

raño (1st line)

[*Da*]śa ra (2nd line)

sa (3rd line).

The third coin reproduced on my plate (no. 2) was noticed by me in the British Museum collection, and a cast was obtained, by the kindness of the authorities. This coin which has exactly the same symbols and the same horse-figure as the other two coins of Daśaratha, has a most important legend:

Murya-ra— (first line)

sa (second line).

The whole legend was *Muryarajasa*, which may be compared with the *Sugarājasasa* of the new Śuṅga coin (published here). The latter seems to have been copied from this earlier instance. Similar in the case of the "*Kaṇvasa*" coin (see below).

Coin no. 3 reproduced here also is at the British Museum. It is round. It has in three lines '*Raño—Da[śa].—thasa*.'

They have the moon-on-hill prominently. The occurrence of the elephant here which is almost a constant emblem on Maurya coins, and that of the horse, should be noted in connexion with the cast coin of B a h a s a t i m i t r a (C.A.I., V., 8, p. 73).¹²

¹² The elephant, which looks so crude, actually forms a monogram in (Khoroshthī) letters composing the king's name.

His coin being current at Taxila, the Empire was intact in his time.

§ 7. King Samprati [232 B.C.—223 B.C.]

Cunningham's C.A.I., pl. II (Taxila) no. 20, has the same symbols as the cast coins of Pāṭaliputra and the potteries of soldiers found in the fortification of Pāṭaliputra, *viz.*, the hollow cross (probably meaning *chāturanṭa*, all-India empire), the moon-on-hill, and svastika. Daśaratha's coins are worn, still the hollow cross and the moon-on-hill are clear on them. There is no doubt that Daśaratha's and this coin belong to one and the same dynastic series. In Kharoshthi the legend reads: [ra]ño (l. 1) Saṃpra— (l. 2). The letters are of the type of the Indo-Greek coin legends.


The coin reproduced here on plate I (no. 6), has the name in Brāhmī—*Sapa* (l. 1) *tisa* (l. 2). This coin is at the Patna Museum (Hultzsch collection). Both coins have a monogram made up of Brāhmī letters *Mau-ryya*.¹³

§ 8. King Deva(dharman) Maurya
[210 B.C.—203 B.C.]

Connected with the cast coin of Bahasatimitra, coin no. 8 on plate V of Cunningham (C.A.I.—Kosam Coins), is the coin numbered by him as 10 on the same plate. He read the legend (p. 74) as *sudevasa*, but it reads under glass as

Raño Devasa

There is the elephant walking (*l.*) to a standard on which is placed the crescent. The reverse is not clear. This coin may be compared with the coin of the Ayodhyā mint given by Cunningham (C.A.I.), pl. IX, no. 5, where the elephant is walking (*l.*) to the standard of the moon, and the reverse has the tree and the Maurya svastika as on the Pāṭaliputra coins. Behind the back of the elephant on the Ayodhyā and Kosam coins, there is one and the

¹³ For this system compare the monograms on the coins of Viśākhadeva (C.A.I., IX, 7, *re.* where letters *vi-śā-kha* are combined) and Phalgunimitra (Rapson, I.C., III, 16, where letters *Pha-l-g-n* are combined). On these too the letters are read from bottom upwards as in Samprati's (*Mau-ryya*: ).

same symbol, probably *ma*. Instead of the elephant facing the moon-on-hill over the standard as at Pāṭaliputra, the elephant on these coins faces the moon placed on the top of the standard.

The legend on the Ayodhyā issue is

M a u r y a - D e v a s a

Cunningham read it as *Vāyudevasa*. But the first letter is *Ma* with two vowel-marks at the two arms of the *m* and another at the neck. There is no *u* mark to the *y*,¹⁴ and on the top of the vertical there is the *reph*, a small stroke.

This king is identical with the *Devadharmān* of the Purāṇas who is the immediate predecessor of *Śāta dharmān*. The word *dharmān* is dropped from both the names in the coins. Evidently it was not an essential part of the name.

§ 9. King Śālīśūka [223—210 B.C.].

The coins found at Ayodhyā and illustrated by Cunningham at his pl. IX, nos. 10 and 11 (C.A.I.), belong to the *M a u r y a* *D e v a* series. The elephant walking to standard occupies the same position as on Deva's coin. In nos. 10 and 11 there is on the standard the letter *ma* instead of the crescent; cf. the same *ma* standard at Sanchi, C.H.I., plate XXIII. 63, and in Aśoka's edict at Jaugada. It was a Maurya standard. The two coins are intimately connected. The legend was read by Cunningham as *Śivadatasa* but the reading was doubted by V. Smith (C.I.M., p. 144). It reads on no. 10 as

Ś ā l i ś ū k a [s a]

and on no. 11 as

Ś ā [l i] ś ū k a [.]

Śālīśūka was the immediate predecessor of *Devadharmān* according to the Purāṇas.

The coin of *M ū l e n d r k a*, (see below), the '*M ū l a d e v a*' of Cunningham, (C.A.I., IX. 4) follows the coinage of Śālīśūka

¹⁴ This, if intended, should have been in the middle of the bottom curve which has no stroke at all. The two ends have downward flourishes which are accidental to stamping.

and Deva (Maurya). There the animal emblem changes—the Śuṅga bull replaces the Maurya elephant.

The rectangular Takshaśilā coin on the C.A.I., pl. III, no. 6, which belongs to the class of the coins of Daśaratha and Subhagāsena, has a legend on the reverse, on the top margin, of which the letters—*lisuka* are still clear (*li* being to the left of the crescent on hill) and *su*, to its right. Traces of a *śa* before *li* are still visible. The coin is undoubtedly of Śāliśūka. The side bearing the legend should be taken as obverse. The reverse symbolizes the name of the king by a bunch of paddy sheaves. On *ob.* it has the Maurya characteristic symbol, the hollow cross.

It is noteworthy that up to Śāliśūka's time the Empire still extends up to Takshaśilā, which is implied by the treaty of Antiochus III, concluded four years later, *i.e.*, in the reign of his successor.

§ 10. System of Signed Coins.

The coins of earlier Mauryas follow a system of initials which I have noted from a number of coins found at the Maurya level at Pāṭaliputra, both cast and silver punch-marked, and initials on arms found in soldiers' habitations in the palisade at Pāṭaliputra. Some of their coins have also full names. This is being reserved for a separate treatment.

The system of signed coins in India goes back at least to the Prādyota dynasty [578 B.C.—430 B.C.]. This subject will be dealt with in Part III, below. It may, however be observed here in passing, that the so-called coin of

'D h a r m a p ā l a'

found at Eran, has each letter in the Bhaṭṭiprolu style.¹⁵ The boustrophedonic writing (*rāñō*—l. to r., *pāla*—r. to l., and *sa*—l. to r.) and the form of the letters would place this coin at about 500 B.C. At that time Eran was under the house of P ā l a k a the Prādyota, and the coin should belong to the king called 'Pālaka' in literature. *Dharma* with *rājan* is found often as an honorific. It is, however, not *dhama*, but *Madhu[rā]* (Mathurā; see Part III).

¹⁵ Cunningham, C.A.I., XI. 18; Rapson, I. C., IV. 7.

§ 11. Signed Coins of Maurya Subordinates.

S a ḍ a k a s

The coins reproduced by Cunningham, pl. II Nos. 21, 22; and Rapson I.C., pl. III. 7, show letters extending over several generations. They do not belong to one (king) 'Kāḍa'. They, reading from right to left, give a more sensible meaning:

S a ḍ a k ā

The 'six' towns or political communities of Trigarta (*Trigarta-Shashṭhāḥ*) are well-known to Sanskrit grammar (see my *Hindu Polity*, i, p. 35). The coins belonged to their federation. The line on the top showing three curves probably represents *Tri*(garta). It has below it the letter *ga*, evidently for *garta*. The elephant on their oldest issue may refer to the Maurya imperial symbol indicating a subordinate position.

V a ṭ a - A ś v a k a s.

The *Vaṭāśvaka*¹⁶ coin, on the evidence of the script, must necessarily fall within the early Maurya period. The *Aśvakas* occupied Afghanistan in the time of Alexander (McCrindle, *Invasion by Alexander*, ed. 1896, p. 333), and Afghanistan belonged to the early Mauryas. The *Vaṭa-Aśvakas* must have struck coins as subordinates of the Mauryas. On a series of the cast coins of Pāṭaliputra, the moon-on-hill symbol is placed over a standard¹⁷, and on the *Vaṭa-Aśvaka* coin we find a long-robed figure in trousers (i.e., an *Aśvaka*) standing with folded hands before the moon-on-hill. The symbol is a Pāṭaliputra symbol. The homagelul figure seems to express the subordination of the *Aśvakas* to the dynasty of *Chandra* (*gupta*).

The significance of the word *Vaṭa* in *Vaṭāśvaka* is to be sought in its Sanskrit form *varta*, which means (amongst other things), trade, industry. The republican communities were distinguished as *vārtā-śastropajīvins* (K. *Arthaśāstra*, XI, p. 376), i.e., (1) those

¹⁶ Cunningham, C.A.I., II, 17; Rapson, I.C., III, 6.

¹⁷ See also the position of the symbol (above a standard) in coins of Samprati (pl. 1) above.

living by *vārtā*, industries and trade; and (2) those living by the profession of arms ('mercenaries'). Evidently, the *Aśvakas* had one division which lived by trade, probably like the modern 'Kabulis,' and there was another branch which was military¹⁸. The suggestion on the top of the vertical of *Va* may mean *Vā*, but even without it, *varta* does mean the same as *vārtā*. If we read the first letter as *Vā* the word would be *Vāṭā-Aśvaka*. The last *k* has a suggestion of *e*—*V[ā]ṭāsvak[e]*.

Other Subordinates

The *Pañcha-Negamā*, the *Arnta-Ro[h a]tākā*, the *Dojaka-Negamā* (Cunningham, C.A.I., III) have all *Maurya* symbols, i.e., symbols and seals found at *Maurya* level at *Pāṭaliputra* in the palisades and the palace. The *Pañcha Nigamas* have a further symbol, the unmistakeable *Dharma-chakra* which is in the same form as at *Sanchi* and which would refer the coin to *Aśoka's* suzerainty. Cf. the wheel (clearly the *Dharma-chakra*, garlanded) on the *Audumbaras'* coin at Cunningham's plate IV (no. 2) where the elephant moving to the railed tree is exactly similar to that on the *Pāṭaliputra* coins; see also the large *Brāhmī* letter *A* at the top right corner of the *ob.* The *svastika* is placed on the standard as at *Jaugada*. The 'steel-yard' has been found on cast coins at *Rajgir* and *Pāṭaliputra* and on seals at *Patna*. The *Rohatakas* were an *Afghanistan* people according to medieval books. The "*Anta*" *Rohatakas* were the *Rohatakas* of 'the frontier', as opposed to some other division of the *Rohatakas*.¹⁹ They naturally fell within the *Maurya* empire. Their coin, though blurred on the reverse, still shows *svastika* (l. bottom corner) and the moon-on-hill (r. bottom corner), and the steel-yard on the *ob.*

The *Dojaka-Nigama* is to be identified with the political community of the *Brahmins*—"the city of the *Brahmans*"—

¹⁸ The coin intimately connected is C.A.I., II, 14, which at bottom margin reads "*Pakhtanām Nābhasa*", in small Br. letters. They are *Aśoka's* *Nābha-Panti*. The coin bears the moon-on-hill, and has the same local hill as the *Vatāsvaka* coin.

¹⁹ By reading *ba* (2nd line) the correct name is restored. The letter is fully traceable. The *Afghans* even today call their country *Rob*.

NEWLY-DISCOVERED ŚUNGA COINS

[KOSAM]

PUSHYAMITRA

1.



2.



"Sugarājasa"

AGNIMITRA

3.



whom Alexander attacked in the neighbourhood of the Malloi (McCrindle, *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 143). The Sanskrit form would be *Dvijaka-Nigama*.

Some of these communities made up the *K a m b o j a s* and *G a n d h a r a s* of *Aśoka*.

II. Sunga Coins

§ 1. Chronology of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvāyanas.

The Purāṇic chronology²⁰ of the Śuṅgas works out as follows:

| | Years | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 1. Pushyamitra | 36 | 188 B.C.—152 B.C. |
| 2. Agnimitra | 8 | 152—144 B.C. |
| 3. [Su] Jyeshṭha | 7 | 144—137 B.C. |
| 4. 'Vasumitra' ['Sumitra'] | 10 | 137—127 B.C. |
| 5. Odraka | 7 | 127—120 B.C. |
| 6. Mulindaka | 3 | 120—117 B.C. |
| 7. Ghosha | 3 | 117—114 B.C. |
| 8. ²¹ Vajamitra | 7 (or, 9) | 114—107 B.C. |
| 9. Bhāgavata (Samā-Bhāga) | 32 | 107—75 B.C. |
| 10. Deva-Bhūmi | .. | 75—B.C. |

113

as against the dynastic total,

'112' of the Purāṇas.

When some Purāṇas give 10 years to Deva Bhūmi and at the same time give the dynastic total as 112 unanimously with others, they probably imply that for 10 years he had a subordinate rule under the *K ā ṇ v ā y a n a s*, and when they repeat the same *B h ū m i m i t r a* as a successor of *K ā ṇ v a*, they probably mean one and the same, that is the last Śuṅga. One copy of the *Vāyu* (Pargiter, PT., 34, n. 4) states that *K ā ṇ v a* ruled with the permission of *D e v a - B h ū m i*. The Purāṇas assign

²⁰ J.B.O.R.S., I, 116.

²¹ See below § 12 on this name.

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|
| De va B h ū m i | .. .. | 0 or 10 |
| K a ṇ v a | .. .. | 5 or 9 |
| B h ū m i [m i t r a] | .. .. | 14 or 24 |

It is evident that the two reigns are mixed up. Having in view the dynastic total [45 years] in the Purāṇas we may take the genealogy to stand thus:

| | Years |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Kaṇva and Bhūmi | 24 75—51 B.C. |
| Nārāyaṇa | 12 51—39 B.C. |
| Suśarman (or, Sudharman) .. | 10 39—30 B.C. |
| | <hr/> 46 |

as against 45, the dynastic total.

Some copies of the Purāṇas (Matsya and Viṣṇu) state the total number of the Śuṅga kings to have been '13' or '12'. This tradition would refer to two or three Śuṅgas who ruled under the Kāṇvāyanas, in addition to the 10 independent Śuṅgas.

The form *Jyeshthamitra* is known from coins. J y e ṭ h a - m i t r a' s coins have been found also at Patna (Pahārī excavations). The name of V a s u m i t r a is spelt as 'S u m i t r a' in a copy of the Matsya dated 1525 (PT., p. 31, n.¹⁵). 'Vasu' is added to the names of two sons of Agnimitra—viz., 'V a s u j y e s h ṭ h a', whose another name the Purāṇas note as 'S u - j y e s h ṭ h a' or 'J y e s h ṭ h a', and 'V a s u m i t r a'. Probably A g n i m i t r a had eight (*vasu*) sons.

§ 2. P u s h y a m i t r a [188—152 B.C.]

(a) His Kosam Coin

On the occasion of the last annual session of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Allahabad, the members of the Society were taken to Bhita and Kosam. We purchased coins at both places. A copper coin at Kosam²² fell to the share of Mr. Ratilal Antani of Udaipur from whom I took it for examination owing to its unique features. Before leaving Allahabad and my fellow members, I had

²² See my plate II, no. 1.

cleaned the side having the Brāhmī legend which disclosed the reading:

P u s h [y] a m ī (t a s a)

After discussing the coin with my friends I took the permission of Mr. Antani for bringing the coin to Patna for publication. The characters resemble the Pabhosā ones which was the cursive script of the time as opposed to the monumental script found on the *Senāpati* coin and the Besnagar pillar and other coins of Pushyamitra (see below)²³.

The reverse has a humped bull which, before the coin was cleaned, gave the impression of being a camel. But the horns, the curve of the back and the long tail with the tuft make it certain to be a bull. It is badly executed. The bull has the same symbol in front as the bull on that issue of *B a h a s a t i m i t r a* which is stamped on both sides. The symbols on the obverse have the symbols which are re-struck on coins of *B a h a s a t i m i t r a*. This latter fact leads us to the important conclusion that *P u s h y a m i t r a* immediately followed *B a h a s a t i m i t r a* who must have been the last Maurya king—a matter with which I am dealing below. The coin is the first signed coin of *P u s h y a m i t r a* yet discovered. In the light of this coin, which we should call the coin of the Kosam mint, we may recognize the coins of the first Śuṅga king in the following published coins:

(b) His 'Gomī' Coin.

V. Smith, C.I.M., pl. XXIII. 6; p. 205:

Re. 'ś h y a m ī t a s a'

Ob. *G o m i*.

The coin is re-struck. The symbols are all the re-struck symbols which we find on the coins of *B a h a s a t i m i t r a*—Cunningham's plate v, coins 11 to 13; the only difference being

²³ The script will place the coin two centuries later; but for the symbols and the Pabhosā inscription (which by common consent belongs to (c) 150 B.C.), I would not have accepted the identification. The coin is to be taken as another proof of the existence of a cursive script side by side with the monumental type. In any case my general thesis does not depend on this coin.

the absence of the bull which is here represented by the re-struck legend *G o m i*. If the last right-hand mark on the obverse is *Pu*, probably it meant to complete 's *h a m ī t a s a* of the other side. *G o m i* is of special importance, as explaining the nickname adopted for *P u s h y a m ī t r a* in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Buddhist history (Vide my *Imperial History in a Sanskrit Text*, p. 18). The letters are of c. 200 B.C.

(c) His Cast Coin.

Now let us take the Avanti coin illustrated by V. Smith (C.I.M., plate XX. 3, p. 154), which he read as *R u n m ā s a* and called 'puzzling' (p. 145). It has the same symbols. It is a small cast coin and bears the original symbols. The *Ob.* has the bull with the letter

pu (at right-hand corner below the mouth of the bull).

Re. *shamita* [Letters are bold. The first letter was divided into two parts by V. Smith without any justification.]

This and the die-struck coin found at Kosam are the original coins of *Pushyāmītra*, as opposed to his re-struck coins of *Bahasatimītra*. The bull on Cunningham's coin no. 11, plate V (*Bahasatimītra*'s) is also a result of the second strike, for the die-struck coins of *Bahasatimītra* were blank on one side (see Cunningham's nos. 12-13, where 12 is upside down). The animals on *Bahasatimītra*'s cast coin are elephant and horse, and symbols, moon-on-hill and svastika (see coin no. 8 at plate V of C.A.I.).

(d) Śu(ñ)ga-rāja coin.

Mr. K. K. Roy and the Curator of the Patna Museum brought some coins from Kosam recently. Mr. Roy's group has a unique Śuṅga coin (my plate II. 2). The symbols are the same dynastic symbols as on the coins of *Pushyāmītra* and members of his family (see below), bull walking to the symbol or standard, here to l. like the bull on *Agnimītra*'s coin, C.A.I., VII, 16; *Vidīśā* symbol, with *nandipada* on the legend side. The legend is clear and perfect:

Suga-rājasa

This dynastic title would entitle us to take the coin as that of the first Śuṅga king²⁴. It fixes the identity of the Śuṅga symbols.

§ 3. A g n i m i t r a.

Formerly, the Agnimitra of coins could not be connected positively with the Agnimitra of the Śuṅga list. But fortunately the Curator of the Patna Museum has found a new coin of this king at Kosam which connects him with the coin of the Śuṅga-raja. It is reproduced on my plate (II. 3.). The bull is facing r., the symbol which we find on the re-struck coins of Bahasatimitra. Another Kosam coin of his has been found by Mr. Roy, whereon the bull faces l., and resembles Cunningham's Pañchāla coin of this king (C.A.I., VII. 16).

§ 4. K u m ā r a J a y a (m i t r a)

The coin illustrated by V. Smith on plate XXIII, 8, and read by him as "*Kavirasa*; below *jaya*, reversed, and (?) a character"; "Reverse—defaced" (p. 205) gives the following reading:

Top—*Kum(ā)rasa*

Bottom—(right to left) *Jayasa*; *bish[o]* touching the hind feet of the humped bull.

Bisbo or *Bisha* here stands as *Gomi* in Pushyamitra's coin, meaning the Bull. This Kumāra Jaya is probably the same Śuṅga prince as Jayamitra of the Ahichhatra coins (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 185) whose coin was found in the company of those of Brihaspatimitra, Agnimitra, Phalgunimitra, Bhūmimitra, etc. He was probably one of the sons of Pushyamitra.

§ 5. Imperial Coins of the Śuṅgas.

It seems that certain Śuṅga names of the Purāṇic imperial list are to be read on local 'tribal' coins, far away from Kauśāmbī, Kosala, Pañchāla, Mathurā, and Vidiśā. Several coins, all found "beyond Lahore" (C.A.I., p. 66), which are Audumbara and

²⁴ On *re.* symbol, nandipada on the back of the bull; over marginal legend—*shamītasā*.

probably Trigarratta coins, bear imperial Śuṅga names in succession. These appear to me to denote suzerainty of the Śuṅgas over those areas over local communities. These coins are of

(a) Dhara-Ghosha (C.A.I, IV. 1).

(b) Ajamitra (C.A.I, IV. 7).

(c) Bhāgavata (C.A.I, IV. 5).

In the Śuṅga imperial list we have

(7th) Ghosha

(8th) Vajamitra [and *Vajramitra*, a misreading for the Kharoshthī *Ajā*]

(9th) Bhāgavata

Connected with these Punjab coins, belonging to the same series are the coins of

Mahāmītra (C.A.I, IV, 8, 9) and

Bhānumitra (C.A.I, 12, 13).

Bhānumitra is well-known from his Pañchāla coins (C.A. I., VII. 6—9; C.I.M., XXI. 3—5). His Punjab coin, C.A.I., IV. 13, has all the identical symbols as on the Pañchāla coins of the C.I.M., pl. XXII. 4 and 5 (in the latter the reverse is printed upside down). This Bhānumitra was an important Śuṅga ruler from whom the Jainas counted their chronology, placing him 30 years after Pushyamitra (I.A., 1917, July, my paper on *Kalki*), although he does not figure in the Purāṇas. He was evidently a Śuṅga governor in Western India. His coins in Trigarratta are not migrated ones, for his coins are “*quite common*” at the foot of the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyarpur District” (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 161).

Bhānumitra is not the only link to connect the Audumbara or Trigarratta coins with the Śuṅga suzerainty. The coins of Dhara Ghosha and Bhāgavata afford further evidence. Bhāgavata is expressly styled

rāja-r[ā]ja

i.e., ‘emperor’. Dhara Ghosha gives the effigy of Viśvāmītra on his coins, and Viśvāmītra was the original ancestor of the Śuṅgas according to the Vedic genealogy (J.B.O.R.S., IV. 259; XIV. 25).

Cunningham has wrongly given the king's name as *Mabādeva*. A comparison of the legends establishes that the name of the king is '*Bhāgavata*', and the '*Mabādeva*' is a title, ('great king'):

Dhara-Ghosha: *Mabādevasa Rāño Dhara-Ghoshasa*.

Bhāgavata: *Bhāgavata-Mabādevasa rāja-r[ā]ja* [Kharoshthī, *rāja-rajña*]

'*Mabādeva*' in the two coins is honorific.

The Śuṅga bull (to r.) is on the coin of *Bhāgavata*, while elephant walks to (l.) the trident and battle-axe²⁵. On *Dhara-Ghosha*'s coin the elephant has not been adopted; only the trident and battle-axe appear. The elephant was the local Audumbara emblem, come down from the Maurya times (see C.A.I., IV. 2). A modification was made in the elephant having an up-lifted trunk.

The elephant-and-bull type of these Śuṅga coins has been copied by *Apollodotus*, which proves that he either succeeded the Śuṅgas or was subordinate to them. Śiva's trident-and-battleaxe of *Dhara-Ghosha* and *Bhāgavata* is imitated by *Zoilus*. He must have been either a contemporary subordinate or a successor.

The *Vidiśa* cross (C.A.I., V. 5, *re.*), the style of the figure as on the Śuṅga coins, the trident-and-axe as on the Audumbara coin, nandipada on hill, are all Śuṅga features. The umbrella on the reverse is a developed edition of the umbrella as the first symbol of the 'Pañchāla' group, and the [later?] title *chhatreśvara* ['the Lord of the Imperial Umbrella'] refers to it.

In the *Yaudheya* coins, C.A.I., VI. 1, there are all the Śuṅga marks. Coins C.A.I. VI. 9 and 10, have the same *chhatra* and nandipada-on-hill designs as on the *Kuninda* coins.

Bhānumitra has a coin in the *Yaudheya* series (C.A.I., V. 14), where the legend reads:

Bhānumi[ta]

The symbols are characteristically Śuṅga—*Vidiśa* cross, and tree.

²⁵ See a Mathurā coin of *Bhāgavata*, 1900 J.R.A.S., p. 112, where (pl., no. 12) a monogram composed of 'Śu-ga' letters is prominent.

This coin and the symbols denote Śuṅga suzerainty over the Yaudheyas.

We seem to have imperial coins of Pushyamitra, Agnimitra, and Sumitra also (see below § 12).

§ 6. Balabhūti, Bhānumitra, and Bhadra Ghosha

These princes have their coins. They are unknown to the Purāṇas. But the Jaina records help us in fixing their time and identity. The Jaina chronology gives only 30 years to Pushyamitra as against 36 of the Purāṇas. After Pushyamitra the Purāṇas place Agnimitra and Vasumitra, while two sets of the Jaina documents place, alternatively, immediately after Pushyamitra (30 years):

Agnimitra and Balamitra, and
Vasumitra
(with the order transposed) and Bhānumitra²⁶

It is thus evident that Balamitra and Bhānumitra were Śuṅga princes ruling either immediately after or contemporaneously with (from his 30th year) Pushyamitra, according to these authorities; and Agnimitra and Vasumitra also similarly ruled. Hence we may deduce that Agnimitra, Balamitra and Bhānumitra (and also probably Vasumitra) ruled contemporaneously. And taking the Purāṇic datum that Pushyamitra ruled through his 8 sons (as viceroys) which is indirectly supported by the inscription of the Ayodhyā branch, we may infer that like Agnimitra, both Balamitra and Bhānumitra were sons of Pushyamitra and his governors.

Now, we find that Balabhūti's [Mathurā] coins (C.A.M., VIII, 9) are the oldest amongst the Śuṅga coins, and they follow Śāta's coinage, and were preceded by the Śaka Satraps who imitated it. We may therefore identify Balabhūti with Balamitra Śuṅga, and take him to be the Governor of Mathurā under Pushyamitra.

²⁶ See references in my paper on Kalki in I.A., July, 1917.

With regard to *Bhānumitra*, we have the additional information from his coins that with him come into vogue the symbols we call the 'Pañchāla Symbols'; for all of his larger coins which are re-struck coins—re-struck by him—have got these symbols impressed in the second strike. That he is the first to use them is suggested by separate punches of the symbols, that is, they were coming into use for the first time. That these symbols are his is further proved by his smaller coins with original strike bearing all the three symbols. Thus, this much is clear from his two classes of coins, original and re-struck, that the letter were restruck by him on a former series which did not have these symbols. The symbols of the former coins have been carefully obliterated and struck over either by a figure of the sun ('*Bhānu*') or with the 'Pañchāla Symbols'.

The question now arises: whose coins did he re-strike? The coins could not have belonged to his own dynasty, for in that case the 'Pañchāla' symbol must have been there and there would be no necessity of re-striking those symbols. It seems therefore to follow that those coins must have been of the previous dynasty, the Maurya issues. *Bhānumitra* did what *Pushyāmitra* did with the coins of *Bahasatimitra*. A close study of the re-struck coins of this ruler discloses the fact that the present legend has been superimposed on an earlier one. I would refer to coin no. 7 of Cunningham on the C.A.I., plate VII. On this coin the first symbol and the two letters below (*bhānu*) are produced by one die, and the letters *mitasa*, by another die. All these letters are imposed on a legend which formerly read as '*Bahasatimī*', traces of which are still visible.

Like *Bhānumitra*, *Bhadra Ghosha* has also two classes of coins, one original and another by re-striking coins of some predecessor. This is evident from his coin on the C.I.M. plate XXII, no. 2, and the C.A.I. plate VII, nos. 10 and 11. No. 11 is a small and original coin, like that of *Bhānumitra*'s small coin (C.A.I., VII. no. 9), with all the 'Pañchāla' symbols, while the C.A.I., VII. 10 and C.I.M., XXII. 2, are re-struck coins. On the C.I.M. coin the three symbols are re-struck with three separate punches, the last one being the deepest. The former legend in

both coins was *Devasa*, which by a re-striking has been turned into [Bha]da[gho]sa sa. The last *sa* stands out as a later addition. He seems to have re-struck coins of Deva(dharman) Maurya which were current up to the time of Bahasatimitra and must have been in the treasury and currency in plenty in the time of Pushyamitra, the interval being only of 15 years.

This fact of re-striking leads me to think that the coins re-struck by Bhadrā Ghoshā with 'Pañchāla' symbols which were not there before, were Maurya coins, and that Bhadrā Ghoshā was another contemporary governor of Pushyamitra, probably one of his sons, in whose branch rose later the princes Dhara Ghoshā and Aśva-Ghoshā.

§ 7. Brahmanitra

It is evident that Brahmanitra belongs to the dynasty of Pushyamitra. His coin illustrated by V. Smith (C.I.M., plate XXIII. 5) follows closely the symbols and their arrangement on the legend side of Pushyamitra's coin (illustrated as no. 6 of the same plate, discussed above in this paper).

§ 8. The Eight Sons of Pushyamitra

Pushyamitra's eight sons ruled according to the Vāyu,²⁷ in his life-time. Owing to the almost identical features of the coins of Pushyamitra and Brahmanitra on plate XXIII of the C.I.M. (nos. 6 and 5) I would regard Brahmanitra also as one of his sons in addition to the names suggested above. The lettering on his coin has the earliest Śuṅga forms (c 200 B.C.).

§ 9. The 'Pañchāla' Symbols

In the light of the above discussion it is possible to suggest that the so-called 'Pañchāla symbols' probably refer to a *gubernatorial status* under the Śuṅga dynasty. See, the Audumbara coin of Bhānumitra with the Pañchāla Symbols (C.A.I., IV., 13), where certainly the symbols can have no reference to Pañchāla.

§ 10. Sumitra

Sumitra was a son of Agnimitra and a king, on the authority of Bāṇa. Whether he is identical with Vasumitra or not, depends on two considerations. We have no coin of Vasumitra; we have one Purāṇa MS. giving Sumitra in place of Vasumitra. Vasumitra, on the authority of Kālidāsa, was in actual politics in the time of his grandfather Pushyamitra. Is he identical with Bhānumitra? This will be the result if we accept the Jaina equation of "Balamitra and Bhānumitra" with "Agnimitra and Vasumitra".

Sumitra's coins with the imperial Śuṅga marks (as opposed to the gubernatorial 'Pañchāla' marks) would indicate that he is identical with Vasumitra of the Purāṇic imperial line.

The *Senāpati* coin which I formerly read from the cast is better seen in the photograph. Its first line is *Senāpatisa*. Its second line gives

[ti]tayo

"*Senāpatisa titayo*" means "the third from the *Senāpati*," like the expression "*Senāpateḥ Pushyamitrasya shashtibena*" of the Ayodhyā inscription. The reverse of the *Senāpati* coin on the left margin has

(rā) [ño] Su

This with the left margin letters-*mitrasa* gives the full name *Sumitra*.

The symbols (male fig. standing, *nandīpāda*, Vidiśā cross, *Svastika* with *m*'s (*ob.*)), agree with the Mathurā coin of the king, and with Kosaṃ coin no. 9 at pl. V of the C.A.I. This latter coin has in large letters on the side having the male figure:

Sumitra[sa] (1. margin).

He has also an Almorā coin to his credit. The coin read by Professor Rapson as *Śivadatasa* is really *Sumitasa* (C.H.I., p. 539. pl. V, no. 17). On comparison with this king's other issues it will be found that the symbols, style and figure (bull) all agree with those on Śuṅgan coins. The letters *mi* and *ta* are disposed at the two opposite ends of the base of the railing, hanging from the

margin like the rest. These railing ends have been mistaken as parts of letters. After *ta* we have *sa*, the possessive; next to it is the initial *su*, with the right arm fainter. The large space between *su* and *mi* is in conformity with his 'Senāpati' and Mathurā coins. The bull-walking-to-the-standard (r.) combination intervenes between *Su* and *mi*.

§ 11. O d r a k a

The fifth king of the Śuṅga imperial list is O d r a k a, to whom a reign period is given 'equal to' that of the fourth i.e., V a s u m i t r a, his father. Vasumitra had 10 years; hence Odraka would have 10 years, which is supported by the Pabhosā inscription.

Cunningham (C.A.I., V. 6) illustrates a coin in the Kuṇinda group, but notes that it "*is of doubtful attribution, but as it was found in company with the known coins of the Kuṇindas, I think it best to describe it along with them,*" (p. 71).

A comparison with coins nos. 8, 9, 10 on the same plate (No. 8, Bahasatimitra's; no. 9, Sumitra's; no. 10, Deva [Maurya's]) would prove the coin in question to belong to the Kosam mint. Cunningham read the legend as 'Kāḍasa'. The coin is very different from the so-called Kāḍasa coins, and the legend reads:

O d r a s a

The form of O may be compared with U on the U p ā t i k a coin.²⁸ There is a hook at the base; and what Cunningham took as the cross-bar is the top-mātrā, it is not in the middle of the letter.

Symbols: the reverse has a rayed sun and the obverse has a sun on the top of the tree. The tree is identical with the tree on Sumitra's Kosam coin, flanked by the Vidiśā symbol and an *m*-Svastika, as on Sumitra's coin. The *ob.* sun may be compared with the sun representation on the smaller coins of B h ā n u m i t r a and with Sumitra's head on the *Senāpati* coin. The coin belongs undoubtedly to the dynasty and follows immediately Sumitra's and Bhānumitra's coinage. Sumitra being identical with V a s u m i t r a of the Purāṇas, Odraka was his son and immediate successor.

²⁸ cf. the letter on the *Uieni* coin (I.C. IV. 5).

§ 12. Imperial Coins of Pushyamitra and Agnimitra.
[Uddehika Coin of Pushyamitra].

The Uddehika coins reproduced by Professor Rapson in 1900, J.R.A.S., 98, (plate, p. 97, nos. 1 and 2) belong to Pushyamitra. The legend on no. 2 read by him as 'Suyami[ta]', has

P u s h y a m i [t a] [s a]

Pu is clear, there is no left arm of a *Sa*. *Pu* has the *u*-mark hanging in the middle; and *sb* is joined to the bar of the *ya* (left side).

On the reverse side, the Maurya elephant and *ma* have been partially obliterated by a counter-mark with the symbol which is the first symbol on the Kosam coin of Pushyamitra. Other symbols have been flattened down to the surface. Evidently it was a coin of the time of the Maurya empire, struck only on one side and re-struck by him, on attaining the imperial position, with his new royal symbol. His bull figure on coin no. 1 is also counter-struck in a topsy-turvy (vertical) position over some Maurya symbol.

The *Senāpati* coin (J.B.O.R.S., XX. 7, no. 6; see above) is connected with the coin of the Uddehika mint in style and script [monumental type].

[Agnimitra's 'Taxila' coin.]

The coin illustrated by Cunningham on the Taxila plate (C.A.I., III. 14) and left unread (p. 65) is of Agnimitra.

The Brāhmī legend begins on the left margin and covers the top margin: *rāño* (in small letters) [A] *gim[i]tasa* (in large letters).

The bottom line gives the name of the territorial unit. This seems to read *Pakhatā[na(m)]* 'the country of the Pakhatas' (the Paktyike)²⁹.

The letters belong to the period of Agnimitra. The symbols are particularly Śuṅgan—(ob.) figure of *agni* on railing; standard like Śuṅgan symbol, the Vidiṣā cross above the tree as

²⁹ Cf. footnote ¹⁸ above, Part I.

on Agnimitra's Pañchāla group, then, the sun as on Bhānumitra's coins and svastika with *m*'s.

Agnimitra was an emperor, according to the Indian tradition. Kshīrasvāmin has quoted verses in his commentary³⁰ (VIII. 2) recording Agnimitra in a list of Emperors [chakravartins] like the Śālavāhana, *etc.* If my reading of the coin is correct, his rule extended up to the Swat valley, if not beyond. His father seems to have been correctly credited by the Buddhist writers to have ruled beyond Śākala, up to Kashmir. (Cf. my *Imperial History in a Sanskrit Text*, p. 18).

§ 13. Mūl'endrakā

The Ayodhyā coin, C.A.I., pl. IX, no. 4, bears the Śuṅga bull emblem and the legend:

Mūlendrakasa

i.e., ('the coin) of Mūl=Endrakā'. The name is composed of two members, namely, *Mūla*, *Indrakā*. 'Mūla' is the name of the nineteenth lunar mansion, and 'indrakā' is a hall.

Cunningham read it as *Mūladevasa*. The *e*-mātrā at *l* is distinct, and *n* is placed on the top of *dra*. What Cunningham took as *va* (having read the former letter as *de*), is *ka*; its cross-bar is thinner to the right but quite distinct on the left side touching *dra*.

This name is disguised in the Purāṇas in the following forms:

Pulindaka

Mulindaka (*e* Vāyu of Pargiter, PT, p. 32, n. ³⁰).

Several Mss. begin the name with *M*, though proposing different names, but the central form is °*lindaka*. *Pu* is only an easy misreading of *Mu*. *Mulindaka* is the correct form which is the vernacular (Prakrit) reproduction of the name and which must have been in common use in the Śuṅga times as proved by the coin-legends of the other members of the dynasty.

Mūlendrakā was the sixth Śuṅga of the imperial list in the Purāṇas.

³⁰ On Amara's Dictionary.

§ 14. Ajamitra or 'Vajamitra'

The portrait of the king with a turban on the Punjab coin of A j a m i t r a (C.A.I., IV. 7) shows that the king had a handsome face and was a young man. The male figure on the Mathurā and Vidiśā coins of A j a has to be taken to be an inartistic, ideal representation of the king. The Ayodhyā coin (C. I. M. XIX. 16) of A j a [s a] r m ā is also probably his.

The coins prove that 'Vajamitra' of the Purāṇas, Sanskritised (later) as 'Vajramitra', is a misreading for 'Ajamitra'. In the Kharoshthī script³¹ *a* and *u* have very similar forms.

[A j a 's Vidiśā Coin.]

The silver coin of Aja³² (J.B.O.R.S., XX. 7) proves that the lead coin published by Professor Rapson in his Catalogue of the British Museum Indian Coins amongst the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. 2, plate 1, coin no. 3, belongs to A j a and that it is not an 'Andhra' coin. Professor Rapson himself doubted the attribution (p. xciv); it was the similarity of the lead coin in question with the potin coin of Ś r ī Ś ā t a (AD. pl. 7, no. 2) that led to its being placed in the Andhra list. Now, with the silver coin of Mathurā and the other coin of the series (with the legend *R ā ñ o S u m i t a s*)³³ before us, we have to take it out of the Andhra group.

For the combination of the cross and four 'm's forming a svastika on the coins of A j a, compare the design on the Eran coin no. 20, plate XI of Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*. Sir Richard Burn and Mr. Allan call attention to its occurrence on the coins of the Sibi Janapada (Prinsep's Essays, I, pl. VII).

§ 15. Phalgunimitra

The *Phalgunimitra* of the coins is evidently the same man as

³¹ Pargiter, P. T., p. 84.

³² We should read the legend as 'Aja', instead of 'Ajadeva'. The mark which I took as *d* is commonly found on Suṅga coins as a decoration.

³³ J.B.O.R.S., XX, 6; misprint *Raño* for *Rāño*, to be corrected. The letters are in bold relief, and the surface is faultless. The makāra is fragmentary with only its neck and right arm on the coin; and the vertical stroke on *ta* has not got its full length, but forms of both letters are decisive. All other letters are in full; and no doubt exists about the space between *Su* and *mi* having been blank. The re-production on my plate is not successful.

named in the Ayodhyā Śuṅga inscription as *Phalgudeva* to whom a funerary memorial was given by *Dhana(dēva)*, ruler of Kosala, a descendant of the 'Sānāpati Pushyamitra'—the performer of two *asvamedhas*.³⁴ Both *Dhanadeva* and *Phalgunimitra* have thus to be considered as Śuṅga princes of the Ayodhyā branch. The Śuṅgas had 10 successions according to the Purāṇas. The *Garga Saṃhitā* notes the Sāketa (Ayodhyā) branch of the Śuṅgas to have had seven kings (J.B.O.R.S., XIV. 403). And accepting the Ayodhyā inscription to be by a ruler in the 6th generation—the other possible interpretation of the text *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena*³⁵—*Phalgudeva* and *Dhanadeva* would be later Śuṅgas, about a century later than *Pushyamitra*. And if *Phalgudeva* was the father of *Dhanadeva*, he would be in the fifth generation from *Pushyamitra*. I may note here that my friend Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkryāyana would read *dharmarājñah pituḥ* and refer it to *Phalgudeva* and *Dhanadeva*.

In the uncertainty about the allocation of provinces to, and the chronological order amongst, the Śuṅga subordinate princes of the coins, we get here an order with regard to *Phalgu(nī)* and *Dhanadeva*. In attributing the symbols territorially in the case of Śuṅga coins, we must note that several large provinces being under the same family, coins passed inter-provincially very easily, and there is also the possibility of transfers of rulers from one province to another, which is suggested by the two series of Brahmanmitra's coins, one of which is definitely of Mathurā (C.A.I., pl. VII. 12) while the other (C.I.M., XXIII. 5) seems to belong to some eastern province. Though there is difficulty in localizing the symbols, their dynastic attribution stands on firmer grounds.

§ 16. Silver Coin no. 4, J.B.O.R.S., XX. 6.

I am thankful to Sir Richard Burn for pointing out to me about the coin no. 4 of the J.B.O.R.S., XX, 6,—'*Is not this coin you read as Nava?*'

³⁴ J.B.O.R.S., X. 202; XIII, 247.

³⁵ Cf. § 10, above the *Senāpati* coin legend.

The coin does belong to king N a v a (N ā g a)³⁶ and not to D h a n a d e v a. The legend reads 'N a v a s a'. This is the first silver coin of N a v a yet found.

Coins of Kanvayana Dynasty

§ 18. King K a ṇ v a

[75 B.C.—51 B.C.]

Up to this time, no coin of the K ā ṇ v ā y a n a dynasty has been distinguished. This is due to the fact that the position of the dynasty was that of a Shogunate over the Ś u ṅ g a s. The Purāṇas say that King K a ṇ v a would be king amongst the Ś u ṅ g a s (Pargiter, PT, 34) and that the next succeeding dynasty—the Āndhras—would destroy both the K ā ṇ v ā y a n a s and whatever had been left of the Ś u ṅ g a s (Pargiter, PT., 38). Hence the Ś u ṅ g a s continued to rule. under the tutelage of the K ā ṇ v ā y a n a s.

The first king is called "Kaṇva" by most of the Purāṇas (*tataḥ Kaṇvaṃ gamishyati* is the general text: PT., 33, note 52). His pre-coronation name was V a s u d e v a ('*Amātyo Vasudevah*').

There is a rectangular cast coin illustrated by Dr. V. Smith (C.I.M., pp. 198, 200; pl. XX. 18) which was read by him as *Kuṇhama* with the remark—"novel" (p. 198). It reads as

Kaṇvasa [or, °*sya*]

What Dr. Smith took as *h* is *v* with a flat base; the left arm of the triangle is partially obliterated. The forms of the letters belong to the period of King Kaṇva. Before the legend, there is a palmyra tree (without railing), and on the reverse there is a cock facing (r.) the standard.

This last emblem gives the key to the solution of the cock series coins of A y o d h y ā (V. Smith, C.I.M., pl. XX. 18; Cunningham C.A.I., IX. 12, 14, 17). These coins have conjointly the symbols of the Ś u ṅ g a s (the characteristic humped bull) and the K ā ṇ v a symbol, cock facing r. and palm-tree (without any railing). The rulers on this new type of coins are

³⁶ *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* p. 215.

Devamitra (C.I.M., XIX. 18)

Sūryyamitra³⁷

Vijayamitra

Satyamitra

The four princes will be either Śuṅgan or Kāṇvan, which, it is difficult to distinguish owing to their similar name-endings. Very likely, the Ayodhyā (Kosala) branch of the Śuṅgas continued for the 45 years' period of the Kāṇva rule in a subordinate capacity, and they, four in number on these coins, would reasonably cover the period.

We should note the name Bhūmimitra on the 'Pañchāla' coins. This prince was the successor of the first Kaṇva according to the Purāṇas.

§ 19. Greeks and Mathurā Śakas

The above study proves that up to the time of Bhāgavata [Bhāga] Śuṅga (107—75 B.C.) most of the Punjab was still under the Śuṅgas. The Greek envoy to his court at Vidiśā suggests the same conclusion. Antialkidas was a neighbour of Bhāga—Bhāgavata and was ruling in Afghanistan (Kapiśā). Bhāgavata was the last Śuṅga emperor. The time of these Greek princes is fixed by him³⁸.

Up to the time of Sūryamitra there was no room for the Śaka Satraps at Mathurā. The time of the latter is the reign of the second or the first Kāṇva king.

³⁷ The name is not *Āyumitra* (V. Smith), nor *Āryamitra* (Rapson), but *Sūryyamitra* (Cunningham). See the coin in J.B.O.R.S., XX. 7, where there is a clear 'Sū'. On the reverse there is cock on standard facing the sun.

³⁸ The evidence of coins and the Besnagar pillar inscription, prove once more that there were two scripts, one monumental and the other, mostly on coins, cursive.

AN OLD RĀJASTHĀNĪ MANUSCRIPT

(Tod Ms. No. 78 of the Royal Asiatic Society, London)

By P. C. Chaudhuri M.A., I.C.S.

A quarter of a century ago Sir George Grierson wrote as follows:—"Number of poems in old Marwari or Dingal, as it is called when used for poetical purposes, are in existence but have not as yet been studied. Besides this, there is an enormous mass of literature in various forms of Rajasthani, of considerable historical importance, about which hardly anything is known. I allude to the corpus of bardic histories described in Tod's *Rajasthan*, the accomplished author of which was probably the only European who had read any considerable portion of them. A small fraction of the most celebrated history, the *Prithiraj Rasau* of Chand Bardai, has, it is true, been edited and translated, but the rest, written in an obsolete form of a language little known at the present day, still remains a virgin mine for the student of history and of language. The task of producing the whole is, however, too gigantic for any single hand, and unless it is taken up by some body of scholars acting on a uniform plan, I fear the only students of Rajputana history for many years to come will be fish-insects and white-ants".¹ Little or no attention appears to have been paid to this interesting store of knowledge until Dr. L. P. Tessitori in the early years of the Great War began the work of preparing a "Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts"² available in the Libraries of the numerous States of Rajputana and in private collections. It was in 1926 that Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Books and Mss. of the British Museum, suggested to me that I should bring out a critical edition of some of the Rājasthānī manuscripts which

¹ Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX Part II, p. 3 et seq.

² *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1409 (1917) etc.

Tod had collected more than a hundred years ago and had later presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, London.³ According to Dr. Barnett's advice I selected a most comprehensive manuscript, numbered 78 in the Royal Asiatic Society's collection, as the basis of my study. I could not however finish the work in England; on my return to India Dr. Barnett very kindly arranged through the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to have the manuscript sent out to me here in 1929-30. Last year, when I was in London on furlough, I again had an opportunity of studying the manuscript.

The present article does not purport to deal with the whole Manuscript which contains as many as 880 closely written pages. When I have some leisure, it may be possible to publish a critical edition of this interesting chronicle of the Bhatti Dynasty of the ancient State of Jaisalmer. The present literary and philological study will be more or less confined to a few typical pages. Herein we have the story of the founding of the fortified city ('Koṭagarh') of Jaisalmer in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.⁴ Though the whole manuscript is a continuously written document incorporating only here and there some extraneous matters, it has, curiously enough, two recensions of this episode bound up in the same volume. The first recension is found in pages 80a to 85b and the second begins at page 174b and ends at page 181a. It is difficult to decide as to which of these texts represents the archetype. The recension found in pages 80a to 85b, which I would name Text A, contains more

³ "The large collection of ancient Sanscrit and Bakha Mss., which I conveyed to England, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose library they are deposited."—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. xviii.

⁴ Tod has correctly given the date as 1156 A.D. ('*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*', Vol. II, p. 194). The Ms. contains the following lines—

राउल श्री जेसल रो जिणे सं० १२१२ सावण सुदि १२ आदित्यवार
मूल नक्षत्र श्री जेसलगिर मंडायो (p. 66)
वारै सै वारोतरै। कीयो जेसल जेसलगिर।

.....
सुदि सावण वार, समूल नक्षत्र रविवारै। (p. 85)

instances of the purer forms of Mārwarī words than Text B, recorded in pages 174b to 181a. From the point of view of grammar, there are several archaic forms in Text A which appear in a more modernised garb in Text B, as will be noticed in due course. Apart from this, it is not possible to ascertain the chronological order of these two recensions with any degree of accuracy.

The manuscript is a well-bound volume, consisting of 440×2 (=880) pages, $7'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ in size. The script is neat and regular and apparently the main manuscript was written by one hand. A few interpolations, particularly in the case of royal genealogies, are evident. On page 39b there is an account of some household expenditure in the Mahājānī script. A good many pages (25a to 38a) are scribbled in an illegible manner; some Paurāṇika names can however be discerned. Pages 66a to 73b are remarkable in exhibiting the versatile taste of the compiler: these include an astrological disquisition (Kāla-jñāna-aṣṭa kathanah), an astronomical calculation (Nakṣatra-nirṇaya-kathanah), and even a medical treatise (Mūtra-parikṣā)! Apart from these divergences the Manuscript is continuously written. The script consists of Devanāgarī characters with a few Mahājānī peculiarities, such as ञ (=ञ), ५ (=फ), ५ (=ड) etc.⁵ ञ and ५ are often interchanged.⁶ ञ and ५ are employed indiscriminately.⁷ For anusvāra, a dot (ँ) as well as a full loop (ं) is used; the latter is often meant to represent, though there are

⁵ Cf: list of Mahājānī alphabet given in Kellog's Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 26-27.

⁶ Dr. Tessitori has found this to be a common characteristic of such manuscripts: See Bibliotheca Indica, New Series No. 1412, p. 71.

⁷ See Beames, Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Vernaculars, Vol. I, p. 74. The language of the Ms. depicts the intermediate stage between Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Sindhī wherein ञ is kept quite distinct from ५, and Hindī and Bengali where the distinction is lost. The writing of the same word indifferently, with either ञ or ५, shows that there is some uncertainty on this point as in Pānjābī. Sir George Grierson, however, thinks that in Rājasthānī ञ is invariably given its proper sound (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol XIX, Part II, p. 5).

exceptions, the *anunāsika* (ञ).⁸

The Manuscript is clearly a copy of some older record; this is apparent from the gaps left for words and from the erasures made with daubs of turmeric. In my opinion it was written about two hundred years ago. The last date mentioned in the Manuscript is 1744 Sambat.⁹ Tod appears to have relied on its text for portions of his famous book on Rājasthān dealing with the "Annals of Jessulmer". Unfortunately, a few pages at the end are missing and the colophon is thus lost. Tod's narrative, as gleaned from the ancient 'native annals', continues up to 1758 Sambat (1702 A.D.).¹⁰ The "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" was first published in 1829. Tod had of course begun to collect manuscripts nearly two decades earlier.¹¹

Tod has described at length the events leading up to the foundation of Jaisalmer. A great part of his narrative is in agreement with what is related in the Manuscript; there are, however, certain discrepancies which it would be interesting to point out. The three 'duhas',¹² translated by Tod, are the same as those found

⁸ The distinction between the *Anusvāra* and the *Anunāsika* and the phonetic variations in the Indian vernaculars is explained in detail by Hoernle in his Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, § 23. See also Grierson, phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, § 39, 40, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, L. pp. 1, 2.

⁹ "अर संवत् १७४४ जेठ सुदि १० रात्र श्री गुणोसदास जी रीकै बैठा ।

अर पुगल को राज भोगवण लागै"—Ms., p. 380 a

¹⁰ "Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract"—"Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," Vol. II, p. 211.

¹¹ "From the earliest period of my official connexion with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records"—Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. xvii.

¹² "भूप एक जदवंस मै, एण घरा मै आय ।

सो इण गिरवर उपरै, कोट त्रिकूट कराय ॥१॥

लुद्रवैऊँ आथमण पँचे कोसे गाम ।

ए दोढे-कमंडसी, जास जेसाँनो नाम ॥२॥

जेसल नामै भूपती, जदवँसी इक थाय ।

लुद्रपुर नगर सो छोड़ कर, एथ बसे सै आय ॥३॥" Ms. 80 b and 84 b

in the present Manuscript. Tod writes—"Bhojdeo had not long occupied the 'gadi' of Lodorva (Ms.—'Ludravai,' 'Ludrapur'), when his uncle Jesul conspired against him but being always surrounded by a guard of 500 Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tatha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to coalesce with the king, and cause an attack on Puttun, by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki bodyguard. Jesul, with his chief kin (omitted in Ms.), escorted by two hundred horses (Ms.—'doyasai'), marched to the Punjnud, where he saw the king of Ghor, (Ms.—Ghor not mentioned; 'Dilisu', 'Sultan Ali Patsah') who had just overcome the king of Tatha, and placed his own garrison there, and he accompanied him to Arore (Ms.—Aror-bhakhar), the ancient capital of Sinde. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the King (Ms.—'pan divoj'), he obtained a force (Ms.—'tin lakh tokhar') to dispossess his nephew (Ms.—'bhatija') of his territory. Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects (Ms.—'jo karh saghe'), and on the third (Ms.—'tisarai din') the troops of Ghor (Ms.—'turkan') were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bakher with the spoils.¹³

With the above, the Manuscript agrees literally and Tod's narrative seems to be more or less a translation of the text, though in an abbreviated form. Next comes the story of the founding of Jaisalmer. The main account is the same as that of the Manuscript but a few minor differences occur. The story as given in our text is briefly this. Jesal decided to build a new fort, as the existing one at Ludrapur was not capable of standing a long siege. His kinsmen agreed with him and selected a suitable place on the top of a mountain. In the meanwhile, a great Brahmin sage, Isāna, heard of Jesal's idea. He did not approve of the site chosen for the new fort, and being a far-seeing saint, with a deep knowledge of the past, present and the future, sent his son Jagnāth to call the king to his abode. When Jesal arrived Isāna informed

¹³ Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 193 et seq.

him that there was a suitable place for the new fort and told him the following story:—

Once upon a time Brahmā and other gods and sages had assembled to perform a great sacrifice at Brahmasār. They were joined by Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. They prepared sixty-eight fires (kundaś) at the place. Here, in the forest called Kumpavaṇa, Kāka ṛṣi, a son of Brahmā, later performed great penances. The Kāk river flowing near by was named after the ṛṣi. The place thus acquired great sanctity. Later on Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna again visited the place and Kṛṣṇa predicted that Arjuna's descendants, the Jaduvamsis, would settle themselves on the Trikuṭa mountain and build a great fort. When Arjuna observed that there was not much water in the mountain, Kṛṣṇa struck the mountain-side with his Sudarśana Cakra, and water began to flow in profusion. He took a rock and engraved on it three 'duhās',¹⁴ foretelling that Jesal would build a fort there, and then closed the mouth of the fountain with it.

Jesal was eager to see the place; Isāna thereupon conducted him thither and as a proof of what he had said showed him the rock with the three 'duhās' engraved on it. Here Jesal, in honour of Isāna, built a great fort and founded the town of Jaisalmer in 1156 A.D.¹⁵

In Text B (pp. 176a and 176b inclusive) a new story narrating how a curse fell on Bhojdeo has been inserted. This is entirely omitted in Text A as will be noticed in due course. Tod has also ignored the interpolation.

Texts A and B, which form the basis of the present literary and philological study, are typical instances of ḍingala literature.¹⁶ The work, though in appearance it belongs to the category of

¹⁴ *Vide* note 12 above.

¹⁵ "On Rubwar, 'the day of the sun', (a favourite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Śravan, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (1156 A.D.), the foundation of Jessulmer was laid"—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 194. Also see note 4 above.

¹⁶ See Tessitori, Introduction to *Vacanika Rathora Ratana Singhaji ri Mahesadāsota ri*, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series 1411, p. iv for an excellent exposition of the two forms, ḍingala and Pingala.

bardic literature, lacks one important, and perhaps essential, characteristic, inasmuch as it cannot be said to be merely a collection of 'floating' literature. A deliberately written historical narrative has naturally none of the fluidity and impersonality of a ballad chronicle, and some of the painfully exact records of events in the prose portions (vāta) are perhaps dull reading. The literary excellence is however undeniable. Often the poet in the chronicler asserts himself and some passages of poetry, such as the description of the battle between Bhojdeva and Jesal and of the fortified city of Jaisalmer, would have done credit to a Chānd or a Jāyasī.

Dr. Tessitori has divided Ḍingala literature into Old Ḍingala and Modern or Later Ḍingala according as the Mārwarī language developed from Old Western Rājasthānī to Modern Mārwarī. Old Ḍingala, in the opinion of Dr. Tessitori, dates from the 13th century A.D. and Later Ḍingala from the beginning of the 17th century A.D. to the present day. As no hard and fast line can be drawn between Old and Modern Mārwarī, there is no warrant for placing Ḍingala literature into two distinct compartments belonging to two different periods. In fact, Dr. Tessitori has himself admitted that such distinctions would be arbitrary for he has observed that "the fact is that linguistic changes and transformations always take place slowly and gradually, so it is no wonder if a work, which dates from the beginning of what we call the Later Ḍingala stage is substantially more similar to works composed towards the end of the Old Ḍingala stage, than to works composed two or three centuries later."¹⁷

The present work belongs to the class of historical chronicles known in Ḍingala literature at 'Khyāta' and 'Vāta';¹⁸

¹⁷ Op. Cit., pp. iv-v, and Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 375-77. See also Beames: J A S B, Vol. XLII, p. 166.

¹⁸ Referring to Ms. No. 2 in his Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Mss. Bibliotheca Indica, New Series No. 1409, p. 5, Dr. Tessitori has particularly noted the following definition of the terms *itibāsa*, *vāta* etc., as given in the manuscript:—

जिण खिसा में दराजी रहै सो खिसौ इतिहास कहावै ।

जिण खिसा में कम दराजी सो खिसौ बात कहावै ॥

it is mainly in prose with 'Duhās' and 'Kavittas' interspersed here and there. The embellishments of prosody are applied to the verses only sparingly, so that the passages are never cumbrously laden with the stock-in-trade of a common poet. The author had manifestly a keen sense of the appropriateness of a particular style for a particular description.

I shall have occasions to compare passages in the Ms. with those of some of the more well-known poets in my 'Notes' following the texts. It will suffice to state here that our author, in common with the great poets of the Early Mediæval period of Hindi Literature, has shown throughout a commendable restraint in the use of artificial embellishments. The chronicle moves with a rapidity which is nowhere arrested by long-winded poetic effusions. Internal alliteration is met with rarely. This is a common artifice in Later Dīngala poetry. Our author is never guilty of excesses; his use of alliteration has a delicate touch—

भयो जुध अति जोर । सोर अति घोर महाबल ॥

Rhythm and balance have sometimes been attained in some verses by the repetition of the initial word, as in *Prithirāj Rāsau*, in the beginning of each metrical line—

वाज भेर भंकार । वाज सुरणाईय दारुण ।
वाज ढोल ढमकार । वाज रिण तूर सुकारुण ॥
वाज साज सिर पड़े । वाज सिर पषर घले ।
सोभत भडाँ सनाह । चमक फलकूँ तउ जले ॥

or,

केइ षंड ऊय विहंड । पडत रिणषेत उथले ।
केइ हथ पग षिरत । केइ गल बथ सुथले ॥
केइ वाह षग हथ । केइ जमदूद उर पिले ।
केइ कंध घड पडत । केइ कमंध उठ षिले ॥

The strain of the Vira-Rasa is effectively maintained by the use of aspirates and gutturals, as in

चढ़े भोज भूपाल । वाज त्रंवक विसर सर ।
घुघर पाषर घमक । वाज पवंगा घमक धर ॥

On the other hand, simplicity of diction is observed in recording a matter-of-fact conversation—

तुम हिंदू नर कौण है । आए हौ किस थाह ।
कौण काम तम इहाँ पड़े । पूछत है पतिसाह ॥

and, in

हम हिंदू भटी नृपति । जेसल मेरा नाम ।
पतिसाह की चाकरी । करण आए हौ ताम ॥

Want of space in this short introduction prevents me from quoting instances of the use of alamkāras—both शब्दालंकार and अर्थालंकार (—) and other poetic excellences; these will be pointed out in the 'Notes'.

The Language and Grammar, on the whole, are typically Rājasthānī. The constant cerebralization of the dental 'n', the occasional use of pleonastic letters, the endings of the verbal forms—as the ā ending of the 1st per. plu. pr. of the verb substantive in 'jāvā chā' etc., are common examples. The formation of the second personal pronoun—as 'tam^a' of the Mewātī dialect—is also a Rājasthānī characteristic.¹⁹

Here and there, however, we come across numerous foreigners from the domains of Western Hindi and Gujarātī. Of the former the Lahndā dialect is responsible for some queer constructions and for the occasional use of quaint postpositions. In common with Sindhī, Lahndā must have influenced the formation of the truly passive voice met with in Rājasthānī with the syllable 'y', as in "jin^a pakryō" and 'ina mār̥yō' of our text. The Braja and Bundeli dialects have contributed many verbal constructions, such as calihāi, callāu etc.; haū, hō of the verb substantive; and pronominal forms as merau, mohī, terau, yah^a, inhaū etc. In the genitive forms we often find the ē ending of Braja and Bundeli side by side with the ā ending of Gujarātī.

¹⁹ In this and the following paragraphs, giving an outline of the language and grammar of the Ms. I have not considered it necessary to quote references and cite authorities as these will be supplied in detail in the "Notes". I am, of course, greatly indebted to the well-known works of Hoernle, Beames, Grierson and others.

Gujarātī, being naturally allied to Rājasthānī, is conspicuous in its influence on the language of the Ms. It is, however, difficult to point out clearly the truly Gujarātī forms which occur in the Ms.; as many of these are also found in one or other dialects of Rājasthānī, their origins cannot be definitely stated. The use of the simple present in the periphrastic present forms, instead of the present participle as in Western Hindi, the formation of the imperfect by adding the auxiliary verb to a verbal noun in the active, the conjugation of the definite present, and generally in the system of inflexion and postpositions the influence of Gujarātī seems considerable.

With Marāthī of the South and Sindhī of the South-West the language of the Ms. does not seem to have much affinity. The cerebral l common in Marāthī is found in Gujarātī or Panjābī. The ō ending of the nominative singular of strong masculine bases, as found in the Konkani dialect of Marāthī, is met with in a few cases. Other evidences of Konkani are also found in the general body of the Ms: it is quite probable that this dialect of Marāthī may have had some connexion with Rājasthānī through the intermediate Gujarātī, as Dr. Grierson suggests.

Of another outside language, Bhilī, mention may be made here. It would be interesting to trace the relation of Rājasthānī as found in this Ms. to the Bhilī language, particularly to such of its dialects as are nearest to the State of Jaisalmer and are more allied to the Thali dialect of Mārwar. Though more closely allied to Gujarātī, and to some extent to Marāthī as in the South, Bhilī has many similarities with Eastern Rājasthānī forms found in the Ms. For instance, *chū* (present tense of the verb substantive) is common; even *hū* of Western Rājasthānī—found in the Ms. side by side with the other form—occurs in Bhilī. The *go*-suffix (Mālvī and sometimes Mārwarī) of the Ms. is also a Bhilī peculiarity. The tendency in Western and Southern dialects of Bhilī to substitute the present participle for the old present in forming the present tense of finite verbs is common to the language of the Ms. where both kinds of formation are found.

Perhaps, again, we may have to refer to the Jaipurī dialect for the origin of the forms of the verb substantive, viz., *chai* and

chā; though Gujarātī may have been equally responsible for them. Mewātī and Mālvī both contribute their quota to the sum-total of dialectical forms in the Ms.; the 'tam^a' form of the second personal pronoun, used so often, can only be traced to Mewātī and, in accordance with the dialectical usage of Mewātī, is also found in the aspirated form of 'tham' while the genitive plural termination, *ṇo*, as in *āp^aṇo* is peculiarly Mālvī.

Though the language is mainly Rājasthānī, in spite of numerous words and constructions borrowed from outside languages, it has to be noted that no single dialect of Rājasthānī is found in the Ms. in its entirety. Peculiarities of all the dialects, different yet related as they are to one another, are found in large numbers. But as the chronicle deals with the history of the Bhatti dynasty of Jaisalmer, we may expect to find the chief element in its language to be that of Mārṇwāṛī round about Jaisalmer and, in fact, such is the case. The chief test, of course, of its identification is the grammar of the language. It will be sufficient to say here that postpositions like *ra*, *ro*, *rī*, of the genitive; *kū* of the oblique form; personal pronominal forms like *hū*, *mhāro*, *mhe*, *tū*, *thāro*, *the*; demonstrative pronominal forms as *in^a*, *e*, *ai*, *ū*, *tin^a*, *kūṇ^a*, etc.; and many phonetic peculiarities and dialectical expressions, as well as the vocabulary, clearly indicate Mārṇwāṛī as the main element of the language.

(To be continued)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Obituary

By Dr. Hirananda Shastri, M.A., D.LITT.

The Society has lost a distinguished member and contributor to its Journal, by the death of Dr. Hiralal.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal was born at Katni Murwara, his ancestral residence, on the 1st October, 1867. His father's name was Ishwar Das and his grandfather's Manbodh Singh. He joined school at the age of 9 years and after a brilliant school career went to the Jubbulpore Government College where he held scholarships throughout and from where he graduated in science in 1888, at the age of 21. He was then appointed first a teacher in his old high school and then as Science Instructor to Northern Districts schools for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. He conducted a teachers' training class in Physics which was then a new subject. In 1891 he was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools in Saugor district, which post he held for five years. During this period he started a system of co-education of boys and girls and opened a number of schools including a special school for the depressed classes, Gonds, etc. He was maturing plans for a school for the deaf and dumb when he was transferred to Chhatisgarh as Agency Inspector of Schools. In the feudatory states, schools situated in the interior were absolutely isolated, and some had not been visited for over 30 years, but Mr. Hiralal took up the inspection work with such infectious enthusiasm that even the apathetic chiefs would go and examine the pupils and encourage them by distributing prizes etc. Mr. Hiralal was then transferred to Raipur as Circle Inspector of Schools which post he filled for 18 months. During 1897 he also worked as Famine Relief officer in addition to his ordinary duties. This responsibility he discharged so ably that in 1899 when Balaghat was badly afflicted with famine he was specially appointed Extra Assistant Commissioner and transferred to that district as Famine Relief officer.

In 1900 Mr. Hiralal went again to Raipur to assist in Census work and accomplished so much in 3 months that the Superintendent, Census Operation, made a representation to the Government of India asking to have him as his assistant. On completion of the Census in 1903 he was deputed on special duty to Nagpur where he completed the District gazetteers in 1910. This work was acknowledged in glowing terms and in recognition of his services the Government conferred on him the title of *Rai Bahadur*. He then came to Jubbulpore as Extra Assistant Commissioner but was again requested to take charge of the Census operation of 1911. On completion of this work in 1913 he reverted to the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner.

This was a trying period for Rai Bahadur Hiralal, as in 1912 his only son Kedar Nath Rai, who had contracted consumption while studying for the bar in England, died; and his father and daughter both succumbed to cholera from which the Rai Bahadur himself only narrowly escaped. He went on 6 months' leave and travelled all over South India and Ceylon.

On return he was put on special research work in the history and archæology of the Central Provinces. The result of his labours was published by the C. P. Government in 1914 as his "Inscriptions." He was also associated with the late Mr. R. V. Russel, I.C.S., in the preparation of a voluminous reference work entitled "*Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*," a monumental work acclaimed throughout India and Europe. In 1916 and again in 1918, during the influenza epidemic, he acted as District Magistrate of Damoh. He assisted in making a linguistic survey of the Central Provinces and in the recording of aboriginal dialects. In 1919, he went to Wardha as District Magistrate, which post he held with great distinction till 1921. During his tenure of office Wardha enjoyed great peace and security in spite of the fact that in those Non-co-operation days it was a hotbed of politics. After a few months' leave he was made permanent Deputy Commissioner at Narsingpur. In October 1922, after 35 years' service he retired and settled at Katni.

After retirement he compiled a descriptive list (Catalogue) of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the C. P. and brought to light some 10,000 manuscripts whose existence was unknown till then. This work has since been published. It throws much light on various dark periods of Indian history, and particularly on Jainism, for a number of the listed works are in Jaina Apabhraṃśa which are not only very useful for Jaina literary history, but also for the history of Western Vernaculars.

From its very inception Dr. Hiralal was intimately connected with the Nagpur University and remained so till his death. He was chiefly instrumental in starting a Hindi *Sāhitya Parishad* and getting Hindi recognised for the B.A. and M.A. degrees of the University. He was offered Vice-Chancellorship of the University but declined to shift his residence from Katni. Lately he was also trying to set up another University at Jubbulpore but owing to the financial difficulties of his Province the plan did not materialise.

Last year he went to Europe and represented India at the Archæological Conference in London. During this tour, his health, which had already been shaken by the death of his only brother Mr. Gokul Prasad (Assistant Commissioner of Income Tax) in 1926, and by an attack of sun-stroke, suffered considerably. He was advised to spend summers in the hills, and in last summer he went to Simla, but here he got an attack of asthma and returned to Katni. His health steadily deteriorated, and on the 26th July he had a complete breakdown. He was taken to Nagpur but as no definite diagnosis could be reached there, he was moved to Bombay, where he accidentally burst a blood-vessel and collapsed suddenly in spite of the best available medical aid. He passed away in the early hours of the morning of the 19th August, 1934. His body was brought back to his birth-place and cremated.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal was a leading epigraphist and a leading ethnologist. He was at the same time a great linguist; he not only knew the chief literary languages of India but was well versed in the aboriginal languages of the C. P. such as Gondi, Korku, Gadwa, Halwa, etc. His knowledge of Oriental lore was so well recognised that he was elected

President of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna in 1932. He had mastered various subjects so well that, though himself a graduate in Science only, he was examiner in many subjects for the B.A., M.A. and Doctor degrees of several Indian Universities, viz., Calcutta, Punjab, Benares, Nagpur, Allahabad and Agra. Ancient History was his special subject and he contributed numerous articles to "*Indian Antiquary*", "*Epigraphia Indica*", *R. A. S. Journal*, *JBORS.*, etc., and was an honorary correspondent in Archæology to the Government of India. He was President of the Ethnographical Section of the Science Congress held at Nagpur and Madras. He was a well known Hindi writer, noted for the purity of language and chaste style. He was elected President of the Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā of Benares. In 1933, the University of Nagpur conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature in appreciation of his work for the cause of education.

His chief works are :

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|
| <i>Saugor-Bhūgola</i> | ... | ... | (In Hindi). |
| <i>Shalabagh</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Bhaugolika Nāmārtha Parichaya</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Damoh-Dīpaka</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Jubbulpur-Jyoti</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Saugor-Saroja</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Maṇḍlā-Mayūkh</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Vairāgya Laharī</i> | ... | ... | " |
| <i>Hindī Grantha Khoj Vivaraṇa</i> | ... | ... | " |

Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar.

Numerous inscriptions edited and articles contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Tribes and Castes in C. P. (in collaboration with Mr. Russell).

Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in C. P. and Berar.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal by his will donated Rs. 10,000 to the Robertson College for a scholarship, and Rs. 3,000 to other educational institutions.

Dr. Hiralal was respected not only by every community in general and particularly by people interested in the advance-

ment of education and culture. His death creates a gap in Indology and community which it will take many years to fill. Indeed, in the heart of those who were fortunate enough to know him personally, that gap will always remain. He was an ideal friend and an ideal gentleman.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held in the
Society's office on Saturday, December 8th,
1934.**

Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
(Vice President, in the chair).
Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
Mr. H. Lambert.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Council, held on July 29th, 1934.
2. Passed the monthly accounts from July to October, 1934.
3. Elected the following new members:—
Dr. Umesh Misra, M.A., D.Litt., Allahabad University, Allahabad.
P. Anujan Achan, Esq., Secretary Rama Varma Research Institute, State Museum, Trichur.
Rajaguru Hemraj Pandit, Dhokatola, Nepal.
Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, Vice-Principal, Doongar College, Bikaner.
4. Sanctioned the payment of the bills:—
I. Khadgavilas Press :
a. Bill No. 173, dated 29.6.34 cost of printing charges of Vol. II Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts. Rs. 1242 8 3
b. Bill No. 174, dated 29.6.34 cost of printing and paper for Vol. III Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts. Rs. 169 8 0
II. Calcutta Oriental Press Bill No. 2022, dated 6-8-34 cost of printing charges of Journal Vol. XX, pt. 1 of 1934 and Index to Vol. XIX. Rs. 590 0 0

5. Considered the finance of the Society's Journal.
Resolved that Parts III & IV of the Journal for 1934 be published together in one volume.
6. Read a letter, dated July 11th, 1934, from the Church of Scotland Mission, Bamdah.
Resolved that the Council regrets that the state of the Society's finances does not permit of its making a loan or grant to assist the publication of "Harma's Village" by R. Carstairs.
7. Fixed, subject to His Excellency's approval, Thursday, March 28th, 1935, for the date of the Annual General Meeting.
Resolved that Mr. James and Mr. Jayaswal be requested to select a suitable speaker to address the meeting.
8. Read letter No. 3439/XIII-2-31-34, dated November 16th, 1934, from the District and Sessions Judge, Patna.
Resolved that Mr. Lambert request Mr. K. K. Dutt to examine the records in the office of the District and Sessions Judge, and to select such as appear worthy of preservation.
9. Considered the request of the Calcutta Oriental Journal to be put on the Society's exchange list.
Resolved that the editor of the Calcutta Oriental Journal be asked to renew his application in a year's time.
10. Permitted :—
Babu Pandeya Ramavatara Sarma, M.A., B.L. University Research Scholar, and Babu Rameshwar Prasad Sinha, student of Patna College, to read in the Society's Library.
11. Read a letter from the Superintendent, Patna Law Press, suggesting Rs. 9/- as the price of the Shahabad Report.
Resolved that it be left to the Patna Law Press to fix the price of the Shahabad and Bhagalpur Reports.

J. L. Hill.

11th December, 1934.

Honorary General Secretary.



A Dialect of Bhojapuri*

By Udai Narain Tiwari, M.A.

CHAPTER I

Introduction.

§1. The language current in the district of Ballia is † standard Bhojapuri. I have treated in this monograph the dialect spoken in my own village and about 20 miles around it. In fact this monograph represents the language of the town of Ballia also as my village is situated at the distance of two miles only from it. Since my birth, I lived in my village for 18 years and even now I live there for three months in every year. The major portion of this monograph was prepared there and whenever any doubt arose about the forms, the people have been consulted.

§2. As regards the geographical boundary of the town, the river Ganges makes the natural as well as the political boundary in the south. On the other side of the river is Shahabad, a district in the Province of Bihar. Although there is very little difference between the language of the people of the other bank of the river and that of the town of Ballia yet as we proceed on in the interior of the district of Shahabad, the differences begin to be perceptible. In the town of Ballia, a man will say, 'h Δ m un f u k a : k e c a : r i r u p Δ j a : d i f i Δ l i : ' 'I gave him four rupees', but in the village Sahajawali which is situated at the distance of about 24 miles a man will say— h Δ m un f u k a : k e : c a : r i r u p Δ j a : d e : l i : Again u j a : t b a : t e : 'he

* The writer is very much indebted to Dr. Babu Ram Saksena of the University of Allahabad under whose guidance this monograph has been prepared.

† L. S. I., vol. V, part II, p. 42.

goes' will be spoken in the above village u j a : t b a ŋ u e : and b a : t e : both. The ablative post position s e : is sometimes changed to l e : in Shahabad district, e.g. t ū : k a f i ā : s e : a : w a t a : r a : (Ballia). 'Where do you come from ?'

t ū : k a f i ā : l e : a : w a t a : r a : (Shahabad).

To the east of Ballia town at about 20 miles distance is the Pargana Doaba. The following are the differences between the dialect of Ballia and of this place.

In the town of Ballia a man will say 'h a m a n i k a : j a : t r a f i a l i : j ā : 'we were going', but in Pargana Doaba a man will say 'h a m a n i k a : j a : t r a f i a l i : s a . In Ballia they say i k a : h a w e : , while in Doaba they speak i k a : h a t e : 'what is this ?'

§3. There is no literature in the dialect. A few folk songs were collected and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir George Grierson about forty years back. Since then several small pamphlets in Devanāgarī script have been published by the Dudhanath Press, Howrah, which are mostly in Shahabad dialect.

Work in the dialect has been done in a general way by Hoernle, Grierson and others (L.S.I., vol. V, part II, pp. 47-49), but the present monograph tries to give an accurate description of the dialect of a small area.

Notes on Pronunciation.

§4. The transliteration alphabet employed here is that of the International Phonetic Association. Bhojapuri possesses a peculiar vowel which to an indigenous speaker appears as middling between a and a : . This has been rendered in the Linguistic Survey as ā , but it can more accurately be described as a : . The other sounds do not present any perceptible difference.

The peculiarity about the Bhojapuri speaker is the musical accent at the end of his sentence. This is found

neither in Awadhi (its western neighbour) nor in Magahi which is in its south.

The rule of the short antipenultimate has been noted by the former writers.

CHAPTER II

Nouns.

§5. (a) A noun (stem) in Bhojapuri may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, e.g. $\text{d} \circ : \text{r} \text{a} :$ 'thread', $\text{n} \circ : \text{k} \Delta \text{r}$ 'servant'. The final vowels generally are -a:, -i -i:, -u -u:, for instance:—

- a:, $\text{p} \Delta \eta \text{k} \text{h} \text{a} :$ 'fan', $\text{k} \text{h} \Delta \text{t} \text{i} \text{a} :$ 'bedstead'.
- i, $\text{g} \text{a} : \text{i}$ 'cow', $\text{p} \text{i} : \text{t} \text{i}$ 'back', $\tilde{\text{a}} : \text{k} \text{h} \text{i}$ 'eye',
 $\text{p} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{k} \text{h} \text{i}$ 'feather'.
- i:, $\text{d} \text{f} \circ : \text{b} \text{i} :$ 'washerman', $\text{p} \text{a} : \text{n} \text{i} :$ 'water',
 $\text{c} \text{a} : \text{n} \text{i} :$ 'silver'.
- u, $\text{s} \text{a} : \text{s} \text{u}$ 'mother-in-law', $\text{l} \text{a} : \text{v} \text{u}$ 'a kind of
sweetmeat'.
- u:, $\text{n} \text{a} : \text{u} :$ 'barber', $\text{b} \text{a} : \text{j} \text{u} :$ 'bracelet',
 $\text{b} \text{a} : \text{l} \text{u} :$ 'sand'.
- e:, $\text{p} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{v} \text{e} :$ 'a class of Brahman',
 $\text{c} \Delta \text{u} \text{b} \text{e} :$ 'a class of Brahman'.
- o:, $\text{k} \circ : \text{r} \circ :$ 'a piece of bamboo',
 $\text{b} \circ : \text{r} \circ :$ 'a kind of vegetable',
 $\text{l} \Delta \text{k} \text{t} \text{f} \circ :$ 'a kind of sweetmeat'.

NOTE:— The words with -u, -e and -o endings are rare.

(b) The final consonants generally are the following:—

- k, $\text{n} \text{a} : \text{k}$ 'nose', $\text{c} \text{a} : \text{k}$ 'the wheel of a potter',
 $\text{t} \text{u} : \text{k}$ 'a piece of cloth'.
- kh, $\text{g} \text{f} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{k} \text{h}$ 'a clever man',
 $\text{k} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{k} \text{h}$ 'the armpit',
 $\text{r} \text{a} : \text{k} \text{h}$ 'ashes'.
- g, $\text{s} \text{a} : \text{g}$ 'vegetable leaves', $\text{n} \text{a} : \text{g}$ 'serpent',
 $\text{m} \tilde{\text{u}} : \text{g}$ 'a kind of pulse'.
- gh, $\text{b} \text{a} : \text{g} \text{h}$ 'tiger', $\text{j} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{g} \text{h}$ 'thigh'.
- c, $\text{k} \text{f} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{c}$ 'a big basket', $\tilde{\text{a}} : \text{c}$ 'flame',
 $\text{m} \tilde{\text{a}} : \text{c}$ 'a wooden raised platform'.

- ch, r a : c h Δ c h 'demon',
k a : c h 'a disease'.
- j, g a : j 'foam', b a : j 'falcon'.
- jh, b \tilde{a} : j h 'barren', s a : j h 'partnership'.
- t, g f i a : t, 'a bathing or landing place',
b f i a : t, 'bard', p e : t, 'belley'.
- th, k a : t h 'wood', o : t h 'lip'.
- ḍ, ḍ Δ ṇ ḍ 'fine,' b Δ k l Δ ṇ ḍ 'fool'.
- ḍh, t h Δ ṇ ḍ h 'cold'.
- ṽ, h a : ṽ 'bone', m \tilde{a} : ṽ 'starch',
g a : ṽ 'store'.
- ṽfi, s \tilde{a} : ṽ fi 'bull'.
- t, k h'e : t, 'field', b \tilde{o} : t 'cane',
r e : t 'sand'.
- tḥi, h i a : t fi 'hand', m \tilde{a} : t fi 'forehead'.
- d, k h a : d 'manure', n a : d 'an earthen tub'.
- dḥi, b a : d fi 'string'.
- n, k a : n 'ear', t \tilde{o} : n 'protruding belley',
k o : n 'corner'.
- nfi, s o : n fi 'fragrant'.
- p, d f i a : p 'length', n a : p 'measurement',
s \tilde{a} : p 'snake'.
- ph, b a : p h 'vapour'.
- b, r a : b 'molasses', j a : b, 'muzzle',
j o : b 'a kind of grass'.
- m, k a : m 'work', c a : m 'leather'.
- r, s a : r 'wife's brother', h a : r 'garland',
k h u r, 'hoof'.
- rfi, m a : r fi 'a kind of grain'.
- l, m e : l 'union', c h a : l 'bark', t Δ r k u l,
'palm'.
- lf, m a : l fi 'a string connecting the spindle with
the spinning wheel'.
- w, n a : w 'boat', g f i a : w, 'hurt', g h i : w 'ghee'.
- s, b \tilde{a} : s 'bamboo', s \tilde{a} : s 'breath', n Δ s, 'nerve'.
- fi, b \tilde{a} : fi 'arm', c f i \tilde{a} : fi 'shadow',
r e : fi 'reh land'.

Forms of the Stem.

§6. In Bhojapuri nouns generally have two forms, one short and the other long:—

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| e.g. g fi o : v a : | g fi o : v Δ w a : | 'horse'. |
| g a : i | g Δ i j a : | 'cow'. |
| n a : u : | n Δ u a : | 'barber'. |
| n a : u n i | n Δ u n i j a : | 'barber's wife'. |

some nouns have only what seems to be the long form, e.g. m Δ i j a : 'grand mother'.

(a) The long form is used only familiarly and sometimes has a tinge of inferiority or contempt. It is never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the younger.

§7. To form the corresponding long, - w a : is added to the short stem masculine if it ends in - a : (e.g. r a : j a :— r Δ j Δ w a :), - u : (e.g. n a : u :— n Δ u w a :), the vowel (together with the preceding consonant) being shortened before the termination and a : if it ends in - i : or a consonant (e.g. d fi o : b i :— d fi o : b i a : , c Δ m a : r— c Δ m a r a : , s o : n a : r— s o n Δ r a : , but Δ w a : in certain cases if the noun ends in a consonant (e.g. p e : t , p e t Δ w a : d o : m , d o m Δ w a :).

Gender.

§8. A noun in Bhojapuri is either masculine or feminine irrespective of the fact whether it denotes an animate or inanimate object. Bases ending in - i : are generally of feminine gender (t i w a : r i : , masc.) while those ending in Δ , a : are generally masculine (b u v h a : 'old woman' fem.) but most of such as end in - i a : are feminine. Such - i : bases, however, as denote an agent are masculine, e.g. m a : l i : 'gardener', d h o : b i : 'washerman'. Consonantal bases are found under either gender.

(a) The gender of nouns is indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verb that they take, e.g. g fi Δ r j Δ r i g Δ i l , 'the house got burnt', k i t a : b

j a r i g a i l i 'the book was burnt', the first is masculine while the second feminine. It is also sometimes indicated by the agreement of the adjective, e.g. b a ʋ g h o : ʋ a : 'a tall horse' b a ʋ i g h o : ʋ i : 'a tall mare' but it may be, b a ʋ g h o : ʋ i : also.

§9. Nouns which denote animate beings take their gender according to the sex that they denote; males being denoted by the masculine gender and the females by the feminine gender. For instance:— m a r a d 'man', b f i ã i s a : 'buffalo', b a r a d f i 'bullock', m u r u g a : 'cock' are masculine while m e f i r a : r u : 'woman', b h ã i s i 'buffalo' (she), g a : i 'cow', m u r u g i : 'hen' are feminine.

(a) Some nouns, however, are either masculine only or feminine only irrespective of the sex that they denote, e.g. k a u a : 'crow', n e : u r 'mongoose', l a m a h a : 'hare' are always used in the masculine gender while c i r a i : 'bird', c i : l f i i 'kite', k h e : k h a r i 'fox' are always feminine. These are cases where the speaker is either unable to observe the sex or does not care to do so.

(b) Nouns denoting a collection of living beings may be either feminine or masculine, e.g.—

b f i ʋ i 'a crowd of men' (fem.), j f i ñ ʋ i 'a group of men or animals' (fem.), j a m a : t i 'a crowd of saints' (fem.), h a : r i 'a group of animals' (fem.), j a m a : w 'collection' (masc.), j a k h e : ʋ a : 'collection' (masc.).

(c) Where living beings of either sex are to be described together, the masculine noun is used, e.g. l a r i k a : k h e l a t a : r e : s a n i 'the boys (for boys and girls) are playing', h a r n a : b f i a : g i g a i l e : s a n i 'the deer have fled away', m e : l a : m e b a f u t a d m i a : i l r a f i l e : f i a : 'there were many men (for men and women) in the fair'.

§10. Masculine nouns which denote living beings generally form the corresponding feminine by adding terminations.

(A) Those ending in -a: substitute:—

- (a) -i: for -a:, e.g. g fi o: v a: 'horse', g fi o: y i: 'mare'.
- (b) -ini for -a:, e.g. j o l a fi a: 'weaver', j o l a fi i n i 'weaver's wife'.
- (c) -ani: for -a:, e.g. l a i k a: 'boy', l a i k a n i 'girl'.
- (d) -i: for a:, e.g. b a: c fi a: 'he calf', b a: c fi i: 'she calf'.
- (e) -i for a:, e.g. b fi a i s a: 'he-buffalo', b fi a i s i 'she-buffalo'.

Or add:—

- (f) -ini, e.g. (1) o: j fi a: 'a class of Brahmin',
o j fi a: i n i 'his wife'.
- (2) b a n i ā: 'a grocer'.
b a n i ā: i n i 'his wife'.
- (3) l a: l a: 'a kayastha', l a l a:-
i n i 'his wife'.

(B) Nouns ending in i: —

(a) add -ni after shortening -i:, e.g. t e: l i:, t e: l i n i, m a: l i: 'gardener' m a: l i n i 'gardener's wife', or add -i n i after substituting a: for i:, e.g. t i w a: r i: 'a class of Brahmin' (male) t i w a r a: i n i (female).

(b) Nouns ending in -u: either add -a:, i n i or -n i (-n i:) after shortening -u:, e.g. g u r u: 'preceptor', g u r u a: i n i 'preceptor's wife', s a: d fi u: 'male saint' s a d fi u a: i n i or s a: d fi u n i: 'female saint', n a: u: 'barber' n a: u n i 'barber's wife'.

(c) Nouns ending in -e: add -i n i after substituting a: for -e:, e.g. p ā: v e: 'a class of Brahmin' (male) p ā v a: i n i (female), d u b e: 'a class of Brahmin' (male) d u b a: i n i (female).

(C) Nouns ending in consonants add:—

- (a) -i, e.g. s u: a r 'hog' (male) s u: a r i 'hog' (female).

(b) -ini, e.g. sona:r 'goldsmith' sona:rini 'his wife'.

(c) -a:ini, e.g. paṇḍit 'pandit' paṇḍita:ini 'his wife'.

NOTE:—The feminines of kṣha:r 'potter' and cama:r 'shoe-maker' will be kohaini and camaini respectively.

§11. Some nouns which denote inanimate objects form the feminine by adding terminations. The feminine in such cases always indicates a smaller thing, e.g. rāsa: 'a big rope' rāsi: 'a smaller rope', kũ:ṇa: 'a big jar' kũ:ṇi 'a smaller jar', katora: 'cup', katori: 'a small cup'.

Number.

§12. There are two numbers:—singular and plural. The singular is employed to denote one and the plural to denote more than one.

Words indicating classes of people add sabfi (after pronouns generally) and lo:g (after nouns) to form periphrastic plurals, e.g. rāũṣ:sabfi 'you respected people', ḍipti:lo:g 'the deputies' or oki:llō:g 'the vakils'.

The terminations to form the various cases are added to sabfi and lo:g and not to the preceding substantive, e.g. kamkarlo:gān or lo:gānfi or lo:gānfi mē, 'amongst the kamkar people', rāũṣ:sabfiāni sē 'to you respected people'.

Case.

§13. There are two cases:—direct and oblique. The direct is used to denote (a) the subject (b) the inanimate direct object and (c) the vocative. For instance:—

- (a) baradfi mari gail 'The ox died' (sing),
baradfi mari gaile:sāni 'The oxen died (pl.).

ga:i ja:ti ba:te 'The cow is going' (sing.),
 ga:i ja:ti ba:vi:sani 'The cows are
 going' (pl.).

- (b) gfiar mati phũ:kΔ: 'Do not burn the
 house',

gfiarΔnior gfiarΔnfi kē mati phũkΔ:
 'do not burn the houses',

ā:kfi dfiō:i gfi:la: 'wash the eye
 or eyes'.

- (c) e: laika:, Δre: laika:,
 laikΔwa: re: 'O! boy'.

§14. The direct is used to denote an animate object in
 the case of the following verbs:—

1. 'To milk', e.g. ga:i du:fiΔ: 'milk the
 cow or cows'.
2. 'To beg for', e.g. ra:ja: sē bfiāisi
 māgΔla:?' 'did you beg for the buffalo or
 buffaloes from the king?'
3. 'To take', e.g. tũ ga:i la ham bfiāisi
 'you take the cow and I the buffaloes'.
4. 'To bring', e.g. mΔju:r le: Δila:?'
 'did you bring the labourers?'
5. 'To give', e.g. ham kē ca:ri ΔdmiΔΔ:
 'give me four men'.
6. 'To steal', e.g. u: che:ri cora:wΔt
 rΔfile: 'he was stealing some goats'.
7. 'To capture', e.g. u: suga: pakΔvΔta:
 re 'he is catching parrots', u: suga: dfiΔi
 lifile 'he caught hold of the parrot'.
8. 'To kill as game', e.g. u: machari'
 ma:rΔta:re: 'he catches the fish:'.
9. 'To eat as meat', e.g. u: mũ:s kfi:t
 ba:i 'he eats rats'.

\$15. The oblique is used with the various post positions. For instance:—

(a) The singular—

with *ke* or *kẽ* (accusative)—

tu apana: laika: ke or kẽ bñe: j a:
'send your son';

with *se* or *sẽ* (instrumental)—

ham la:tñi: se or sẽ marlĩ: 'I beat
with the stick';

with *ke* or *kẽ* (dative)—

u bñikñi: ri: ke or kẽ bñi: kñi diñale:
'he gave some alms to the beggar';

with *se* or *sẽ* (ablative)—

phē: ʁ se or sẽ patai: giratia: 'the
leaves fall from the tree';

with *ke* (genitive)—

ra: m ke laiki: mu gaili: 'Rama's
daughter died';

with *me* (locative)—

gila: s me pa: ni: naikhe: 'there
is no water in the glass'.

(b) The plural—

with *ke* or *kẽ* (accusative)—

u apana: laikanĩ or laikanñi
ke or kẽ khe: di diñale:
'he turned out his sons';

with *se* or *sẽ* (instrumental)—

phu: lanĩ or phu: lanñi se or sẽ phu
lwa: ri: gamakatia: 'the garden is
fragrant with flowers';

with se or sē (ablative)—

phe:ʋani or phe:ʋanfi se or sē pa-
tāi:ʃfiarātia: 'the leaves fall off the trees ;

with ke (genitive)—

kukurani or kukuranfi kenō:fi
te:ʃfiola: 'the nails of dogs are very sharp' ;

with par (locative)—

ciraṇ or ciraṇfi par go:li:mati
cala:wa: 'do not fire shot at the birds.'

§16. The oblique is used without a post position in the following instances:—

1. When a word meaning 'for the sake of' follows, e.g. tani:ki: ba:t kha:tir 'for the sake of a little thing', laikani or laikanfi kha:tir 'for the sake of boys', me:fi:ra: ru:kfiatir 'for the sake of women.'
2. When the noun is repeated and gives a locative sense, e.g. gfiar gfiar laʋa:i:fiōi: 'there will be a quarrel in every home', gā:wān gā:wān khābari fiō: gāili. 'the news spread in every village.'
3. When the noun means 'force' and gives an instrumental sense, e.g. ʃābarʃasti: or ʃābar ʃāfiati: utha: le gāile: 'he took away by force.'

§17. The oblique plural is formed from the direct by adding:—

(a) anfi or ani if the noun ends in a consonant, e.g.—

| | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|
| gfiar | gharanfi | gfiarani |
| cama:r | cama:ranfi | cama:rani |
| gā:w | gā:wānfi | gā:wāni |

(b) nfi or n if the noun ends in a vowel (shortening the vowel if it is long before the terminations)—

| | | |
|------|---------|-------|
| ga:i | ga:infi | ga:in |
| dia: | dianfi | dian |

\$18. The word b̄aris has an alternative plural oblique in -a:je:n or -Δnfi e.g. b̄arisa:je:n or b̄arisΔnfi fio: ḡail—years passed.

\$19. An instrumental ending in ē:, n, nfi is found in such adverbial expressions as pi ja: sē:, pi ja: sΔn or pi ja: sΔnfi 'out of thirst', b̄fi u: khē:, b̄fi u: khΔn or b̄fi u: khΔnfi 'out of hunger', d̄ar ē:, d̄ar Δn or d̄ar Δnfi 'out of fear', e.g. hΔmΔnikā: b̄hu: khē: or b̄fi u: khΔn or b̄fi u: khΔnfi mΔrat rΔfiΔlī: j̄ā: 'we were dying out of hunger' or followed by ma:rē:, e.g. u: or unfi d̄ar ka: ma:rē: k̄ā:pe: lΔgΔle: 'he began to tremble out of fear.'

\$20. A case expressing motion towards and ending in ē: is found in such usages as bΔja:rē: ḡaile: 'went to the market.' Similarly, ghΔrē: ḡā:wē:, etc.

\$21. A locative ending in ē: or ā: is found in d̄ua: rē: or d̄uΔrā: (outside, on the door).

Emphatic Forms.

\$22. To denote the sense of also (inclusive) o: is added to a noun dir. or obl. if it ends in a consonant or in i, i: and u and u: (shortening it if it is long). If the noun ends in -a:, o: is substituted for -a: or -wa:, e.g. kita:bo: b̄fi ula: ḡaili 'the book also was lost', ḡfiaro: giri para:l 'the house also fell down' ḡaio: cΔre: ḡaili ba:i 'the cow also has gone for grazing', sΔfi uo:a:il 'the creditor also came', nΔuo: ḡail 'the barber also went', lo:to: phu: tal 'the jug also was broken', ḡfiarΔwo: jΔral 'the house also was burnt', mΔrdani or mΔrdΔnfi ke tΔ tū: ma: rie: ḡfiΔlΔlΔ:, Δb ka:

me firaruano: ke maraba: ? 'you have already murdered the men, now do you propose to kill the women also ?'

\$23. To denote the sense of definiteness or emphasis e: is added to a noun in a consonant or in i, u and u: to a noun ending in a vowel (shortening it if it is long), e.g. camare: mari gail 'the shoe maker himself died', gae: care: gaili ba: i 'the cow itself has gone for grazing', safue: a: il 'the creditor himself came', naue: gail 'the barber himself went.'

Post-positions.

\$24 A post position in Bhojpuri is used generally to denote all case relationships except the Nominative. It is found after the oblique case, if one exists, otherwise after the direct, e.g.

ra: ja: ke, ra: ja: se or sē, sabfi mē, sabfi sē.

Accusative and Dative.

\$25. The post positions for these two cases have generally the same form ke or kē. For instance—ra: m go: pa: l ke or kē marle: 'Ram beat Gopal'—Accusative. go: pa: l ke or kē kuchu kha: e: ke dā: 'Give something to Gopal to eat'—Dative.

Instrumental—Ablative.

\$26. The post positions for these two cases have generally the same form in Bhojpuri:—

se or sē, e.g. u: tofi ara: ke kethi: se or sē pitale: 'with what did he beat you ?' ba: dāri se or sē bu: ni: bfi pā' girati ba: i 'showers fall from the clouds on the earth.' Sometimes se: ni:, e.g. ke: thi: se: ni: 'with what'.

Locative.

- \$27. m e: or m ē:, or p Δ r—
 e.g. k h e: t m ē: g a: i c Δ r Δ t i b a: i 'the
 cow is grazing in the field.' p h e: v p Δ r 'on
 the tree'.

Genitive.

\$28. The post position for this case is k e or k Δ r
 irrespective of gender, e.g.—

- r a: m k e g f i o: v a: 'Rama's horse',
 r a: m k e g f i o: v i: 'Rama's mare.'
 o: k Δ r l Δ i k a: 'his son',
 o: k Δ r l Δ i k i: 'his daughter.'

Sometimes o: k Δ r i is also used when a feminine noun
 follows, e.g. o: k Δ r i l Δ i k i: 'his daughter.'

Other post positions.

- \$29. (1) To express the sense 'for' Bhojapuri has k h a:
 t i r, e.g. h Δ m Δ r a: k h a: t i r d u: d f i l e: a:
 w Δ: 'bring milk for me', o: k Δ r a: k h a: t i r
 'for him', r a: m k h a: t i r 'for Ram'.
 When the idea of officiating is to be denoted
 s Δ n t i: is employed, e.g. h Δ m a: r s Δ n t i:
 'for me.....officiating me'. Sometimes
 's Δ n t i:' gives the idea of exchange also,
 e.g. o: k Δ r s Δ n t i: 'for that.....in
 exchange for that.'
- (2) To express the sense of 'with' i.e. 'in company'
 Bhojapuri generally uses s ā g ē: and s a: t h
 or s a: t h ē:. For instance—h Δ m Δ r a:
 s ā g ē: or s a: t h or s a: t h ē:, u n f i u-
 k Δ r a: s ā g ē:, r a: m s ā g ē:.
- (3) To express the sense of 'near' Bhojapuri uses
 l Δ g e: or l Δ g ē:. For instance—h Δ m r a:
 l Δ g e: or l Δ g ē: 'near me'.

- (a) *le:* or *lẽ:* expresses the sense of 'upto', but is particularly used after adverbs. For instance—*k Δ fi ã: le:* 'upto where?'

(4) To express the sense of 'owing to,' 'on account of' *ma:re:* or *ma: rẽ:* is used, e.g. *ka:m ka: ma:re:* or *ma: rẽ:* 'owing to work,' *o:k Δ ra: ma:re:* or *ma: rẽ:* 'because of him', *to: fi Δ ra: ma:re:* or *ma: rẽ:* 'on account of you'.

(5) To express the sense of 'through' *p Δ v̥ẽ:* 'way' is used, e.g. *ka:tu d Δ rwa ja: p Δ v̥ẽ: j Δ i b Δ:?* 'will you go through the gate?' *k Δ w Δ na: p Δ v̥ẽ:* 'through which way?'

(6) To express the sense of 'like' Bhojapuri uses *ni: j Δ r*, e.g. *h Δ m Δ ra: ni: j Δ r* 'like me', *l Δ i ka: ni: j Δ r* 'like a boy', *me fi ra: ru: ni j Δ r* 'like a woman'.

(7) To indicate the idea of 'entirety' the post position *b fi Δ ri* is used, e.g. *g ã: w b fi Δ ri* 'the whole village'.

CHAPTER III

Adjective.

§30. In Bhojapuri, the adjectives are very seldom used and so we find a very small vocabulary of qualitative adjectives.

As a rule adjectives have two genders, masculine and feminine, e.g.,

ni: m Δ n l Δ i k a: 'good boy.'

ni: m Δ n i l Δ i k i: 'good girl.'

(but ni: m Δ n l Δ i k i: is also used.)

§31. The feminine is formed by:—

(a) adding -i, to the masculine, when it ends in a consonant, e. g.—

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------|
| b f u t a: f i | b f u t a: f i i | 'dreadful' |
| b u: ʋ f i | b u: ʋ f i i | 'old' |
| u: j Δ r | u: j Δ r i | 'white' |
| p a: t Δ r | p a: t Δ r i | 'thin' |
| t h o: r | t h o: r i | 'a little' |
| b Δ ʋ | b Δ ʋ i | 'big' |
| j Δ b u: n | j Δ b u n i | 'bad' |
| l a: j Δ k | l a: j Δ k i | 'able' |
| b Δ d m a: s | b Δ d m a: s i | 'bad' |

(b) Changing —a: into i: if the masculine ends in

—a: e. g.

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| g o: l a: | g o: l i: | 'redish' |
| d f i Δ w Δ r a: | d f i Δ w Δ r i: | 'whitish' |
| l ā g Δ r a: | l ā g Δ r i: | 'lame' |

§32. The following adjectives change optionally for gender:—

l a: l 'red', p i: Δ r 'yellow', u: j Δ r 'white', h Δ r i Δ r, 'green', k h Δ r a: b 'bad', l a: j Δ k 'able', p a: t Δ r 'thin', d u: b Δ r 'weak and thin.' The optional feminine form is l a: l i, p i: Δ r i, u: j Δ r i. But k Δ r i a: 'black' never changes for gender, e.g. k Δ r i a: b Δ r Δ d f i 'black ox', k Δ r i a: g a: i 'black cow'.

NOTE:—It should be borne in mind that the distinction of gender is not based on the animate or inanimate nature of the object qualified. For instance the adjective *p a: t a r* 'thin' is applied to masculine nouns (animate or inanimate) in Bhojapuri and *p a: t a r* or *p a: t a r i* 'thin' to feminine nouns.

p a: t a r Δ *d i m i*: 'a thin man.'

p a: t a r *b ā: s* 'a thin bamboo.'

p a: t a r or *p a: t a r i* *m e f r a: r u*: 'a thin woman.'

p a: t a r or *p a: t a r i* *l a: t f i*: 'a thin stick.'

§33. The adjectives like nouns also have two forms, one short and the other long, e. g.

b Δ ∇
c h o: t

s o: j f i

l a: l

k a r i a:

b Δ ∇ Δ k a:

c h o t Δ k a:

s o j f i Δ k a:

l a l Δ k a:

k a r i Δ w a:

§34. The long form is made by adding Δ *k a:* if the adjective ends in a consonant, e. g.

b Δ ∇ , *b Δ ∇ Δ k a:*

§35. The feminine is formed by changing *a:* into *i:*, e. g. *b Δ ∇ Δ k i:*.

Degrees of Comparison.

§36. There are no separate forms for the comparative or the superlative. The sense of comparative is expressed either by using some such word, as, *j i a: d a:*, *b Δ ∇ f i k e* 'more'; *k Δ m* 'less', e. g.

i: l a i k a: o: k a r a: s e o r s e j i a: d e s u n: Δ r b a: t e:, 'this boy is fairer than that.'

u: l a i k a: e: k a r a: s e o r s e k a m s u n: Δ r b a: i, 'that boy is less fair than this.'

Sometimes the comparison is carried on by using *Δ n a i s*, *b i: s*; e. g.

i: l a i k a: o: k a r a: s e o r s e u m i r i m e t a n i: b i: s h a w e:, 'this boy is a bit older in age.'

u: l a i k a: e: k a r a: s e o r s e u m i r i m e t a n i: Δ n a i s h a w e:, 'that boy is a bit less in age.'

or the comparison is generally expressed by using the simple adjective with the ablative post position *se or sē* following the noun with which the comparison is made, e.g.

u: l Δ i k a: e k Δ r a: s e o r s ē g o: r h Δ w e: 'that boy is fairer than this.'

i: l Δ i k a: o k Δ r a: s e o r s ē k Δ r i a: h Δ w e: 'this boy is darker than that.'

The sense of the superlative is expressed by a simple adjective preceded by *s Δ b f i m e* or *s Δ b f i s e o r s ē* or *s Δ b f i s e o r s ē b Δ v f i k e* (amongst all) with or without the noun in the locative case, e. g.

u: l Δ i k a: s Δ b f i m e n i: k h Δ w e: 'that boy is best of all'.

u: Δ p Δ n a: g f i Δ r m e s Δ b f i m e n i: m Δ n h Δ w e: 'in his family, he is the best of all'.

i: l a: t f i i: s Δ b f i s e o r s ē: b Δ v f i k e h v w e: 'this stick is the best of the lot.'

§37. The emphatic forms of adjectives are made according to the rules given in Chapt. 1. §22. e.g.

i: a: m k f i Δ t o: b a: m i: t f i o: b a: 'this mango is both sour and sweet.'

CHAPTER IV.

Numerals.

Cardinals.

§38. The following are the cardinal numerals:—

| | | | |
|----|---------------|----|-------------|
| 1 | e:k or ra:m. | 31 | ekatis. |
| 2 | du:i. | 32 | batis. |
| 3 | ti:ni. | 33 | tāētis. |
| 4 | ca:ri. | 34 | cāwtis. |
| 5 | pā:c. | 35 | pāētis. |
| 6 | chaw. | 36 | chatis. |
| 7 | sa:t. | 37 | sāētis. |
| 8 | a:tñ. | 38 | artis. |
| 9 | naw. | 39 | onta:lis. |
| 10 | das. | 40 | ca:lis. |
| 11 | ega:rāñ. | 41 | ekta:lis. |
| 12 | ba:rāñ. | 42 | beja:lis. |
| 13 | terañ. | 43 | tāēta:lis. |
| 14 | caudāñ. | 44 | cauwa:lis. |
| 15 | panarāñ. | 45 | pāēta:lis. |
| 16 | sorañ. | 46 | chia:lis. |
| 17 | satarāñ. | 47 | sāēta:lis. |
| 18 | atharāñ. | 48 | arta:lis. |
| 19 | onāisorānāis. | 49 | onca:s. |
| 20 | bi:s. | 50 | paca:s. |
| 21 | ekais. | 51 | eka:wāni. |
| 22 | ba:is. | 52 | ba:wāni. |
| 23 | te:is. | 53 | tirpāni. |
| 24 | caubis. | 54 | cauāni. |
| 25 | paci:s. | 55 | pācpāni. |
| 26 | chab:is. | 56 | chap:āni. |
| 27 | sata:is. | 57 | santa:wāni. |
| 28 | atfa:is. | 58 | antfa:wāni. |
| 29 | ontis. | 59 | onāsātñi. |
| 30 | ti:s. | 60 | sa:tñi. |

| | | | |
|----|------------------|--------|------------|
| 61 | ekasatfi. | 81 | eka:si: |
| 62 | ba:satfi. | 82 | beja:si: |
| 63 | tirisatfi. | 83 | tira:si: |
| 64 | causatfi. | 84 | caura:si: |
| 65 | paēsathi. | 85 | paca:si: |
| 66 | cha:chathi. | 86 | chia:si: |
| 67 | satsathi. | 87 | sata:si: |
| 68 | arsathi. | 88 | atha:si: |
| 69 | onafiat: Ari. | 89 | nawa:si: |
| 70 | sāt: Ari. | 90 | nab:e: |
| 71 | ekafit: Ari. | 91 | eka:nbe: |
| 72 | bafiat: Ari. | 92 | ba:nbe: |
| 72 | tifiat: Ari. | 93 | tira:nbe: |
| 74 | caufiat: Ari. | 94 | caura:nbe: |
| 75 | pacafiat: Ari | 95 | panca:nbe: |
| 76 | chifiat: Ari or | 96 | cha:nbe: |
| | chifiantari | 97 | santa:nbe: |
| 77 | satafiat: Ari or | 98 | antha:nbe: |
| | satafiantari | 99 | nina:nbe: |
| 78 | atfiat: Ari or | 100 | sai: |
| | atfiantari | 1000 | ha:ja:r |
| 79 | ona:si: | 10,000 | dasfiaja:r |
| 80 | asi: | 100000 | la:kh |

\$39. The people generally count only upto 20, onwards they count by twenties, e.g. ti:ni bi:s a: pā:c 65, i.e. 'three twenties and five.' Even within twenty, numbers near twenty are expressed by the help of twenty, e.g. du:i kam bi:s 'eighteen.'

(a) There is generally the practice of adding go: as helpwords after numbers, e.g. ti:ni go: laika: 'three boys', sa:t go: ru paja: 'seven rupees', e:go: d ark ha:s 'one petition'.

(b) The fruits are generally counted by five and pices by four. The former is called ga:fi: and the latter g anda:, e.g. bi:s ga:fi: a:m: '100 mangoes', pā:c g anda: pa:iṣa: '20 pices.'

Ordinals.

\$40. These have two genders, masculine and feminine. The following are irregular :—

| | | | |
|--------|------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 1st :— | p a f i l, | p a f i l k a :, | p a f i l ẽ : |
| 2nd. | d o : s a r a :, | d o s a r k a :, | d o s a r ẽ : |
| 3rd. | t i s a r a :, | t i s a r k a :, | t i s a r ẽ : |
| 4th. | c a u t h a :, | c a u t h a k a :, | c a u t h ẽ : |
| 5th. | p a c a ẽ w a :, | p a c a j ẽ, | p a c a w ẽ : |

The above five form their feminine like adjectives. (chapt. III, §31)

Other ordinals are formed by adding -a w ẽ :, -a j ẽ or a w ẽ (masculine) and -a i : (feminine) e.g.

c h a t h a w ẽ :, c h a t h j ẽ :, c h a t h a w ẽ :
b i s a w ẽ :, b i s a j ẽ :, b i s a w ẽ :

Note 1. 11th to 18th, however insert a short fi in the termination.

Note 2. The words p a f i l ẽ : t h i : and i k a r ẽ : refer to the first issue of the man and animal respectively,

e.g. i : p a f i l ẽ : t h i : k e l a i k a : or l a i k i : h a w e :, 'this is the first issue (son or daughter)'.
i : i k a r ẽ : k e b a : c h a : h a w e :, 'this is the first issue (calf) of a cow.'

Multiplicative Numerals.

\$41. There are no special numerals of the type of twice, thrice etc. The sense is, however, given by some word expressive of time usually, e.g. t o : r, t o : r i :, t o : r i : h a : l a :, h a : l i :, h a : l i : b e : r, b e : r i, b e : r i :.

Twice is thus resolved to 'two times' d u t o : r or d u i t o : r or d u t o : r i : or d u i t o : r i : or d u t o : r i : or d u i t o : r i : or d u f a : l a :, d u i :

fi:la:, or du:fi:li: or du:fi:li:dube:r,
duibe:r, or dube:ri:, duibe:ri:.

e. g.

bΔv lo:g tΔ di:n me: or mē: duije: e:k to
riorbe:ri or fi:la: kha:la: ba:ki: lΔika:
tΔ tin tin cΔri oΔri be:ri or be:ri: kh-
a: le: sΔni 'The older people eat food only once or
twice a day but the children take food three or four times'.

(a) The following words are used only for the multi-
plication tables :—

| | | | |
|--------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| e:ka: | 'once' | du:ā: | 'twice' |
| ti:ā: | 'thrice' | cΔukē: | 'four times' |
| pā:cē: | 'five times' | chΔwē: | 'six times' |
| sa:tē: | 'seven times' | a:tfi: | 'eight times' |
| nΔwē: | 'nine times' | dΔfi:ī: or dΔhā: | 'ten times' |

(b) The following are the most common fractional
numerals :—

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| $\frac{1}{4}$ pΔua: | $\frac{3}{4}$ pΔwan | $1\frac{1}{2}$ de:vfi |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ a:dfi: | $1\frac{1}{4}$ sΔwa: | $2\frac{1}{2}$ Δvfi:i: |

Definite and Indefinite.

§42. To add the sense of definiteness to a number -o:
or -u: is added to it, if it ends in a consonant or in -u:
if it ends in some other vowel, e.g. du:no: 'both'
(inserting -n-), ti:nu: 'all the three', ca:ru: 'all
the four' nΔo: 'all the nine' dΔso: 'all the ten.'

To express the sense of indefiniteness Δni or Δnfi
is added to it, e.g.

| | | | |
|-------------|----|-------------|-------------|
| bi:sΔni | or | bi:sΔnfi | 'scores' |
| ti:sΔni | or | ti:sΔnfi | 'thirties' |
| sΔe:kΔvvnfi | or | sΔe:kΔvΔnfi | 'hundreds' |
| hΔja:rΔni | or | hΔja:rΔnfi | 'thousands' |

CHAPTER V.

Pronouns.

\$43. A pronoun is always followed by a post position except when used as subject or as an inanimate direct object. The oblique, is however, used with a post position.

Pronouns which have separate genitive forms are never followed by genitive post position. The genitive form has oblique and feminine forms like ordinary adjectives:—

- e. g. h a m a : r b a r a d f i 'my ox'.
 h a m a r a : b a r a d f i k e o r k ē ; 'to my ox'.
 h a m a : r o r h a m a : r i g a : i 'my cow'.
 h a m a r a : g a : i k e o r k ē 'to my cow'.

Personal Pronoun.

\$44. 1st pers. Masculine and Feminine both.

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|---------------|---|-------------------|
| dir. | h a m | h a m a n i k a : |
| obl. | h a m a r a : | h a m a n i : |
| Genitive Adj. | h a m a : r 'my' masculine and
feminine both
h a m a : r i feminine only. | |

- e. g. h a m k h a i l i : 'I ate'.
 h a m n i k a : k h a i l i : 'we ate'.
 h a m a r a : k e o r k ē d a : 'give me'.
 h a m a n i : k e o r k ē d a : 'give us'.
 h a m a : r g f i o : v a : b f i a : g i g a i l 'my horse
 ran away'.

h a m a : r o r h a m a : r i g f i o : v i : b f i a : g i g a i l i
 'my mare ran away'.

Note 1. Singular m ē 'I' is very rarely used and by women only, e. g. m ē k a : j a : n o : e : b a : b a : 'what do I know!'

| | | |
|-------|-----------|------------------------------|
| \$45. | 2nd pers. | Masculine and Feminine both. |
| | Sg. | Pl. |

| | | | | | |
|------|------------|---|--------------|---|----------------------|
| dir. | tu or tũ: | } | dir. | } | to:fi n i k a: |
| | tê: | | and obl. | | tũ: lo:g, tu:lo:g |
| | | | both. | | to:fi Δ n lo:g |
| | | | | | to:fi Δ n lo:g Δ n |
| | | | | | to:fi Δ n lo:g Δ n i |
| obl. | to fi r a: | } | | | |
| | to: r a: | | to fi Δ n i: | | |

Genitive Adj. dir.—t o : ñ a : r and t o : r for masculine and feminine both, t o : r i for feminine only.

Genitive Adj. obl.—to:fi Δ ra: and to:ra: for masculine and feminine both.

dir. sg., e. g. (1) t u o r t ũ : k Δ ñ a : g Δ i l r Δ ñ l Δ : ñ a :
 (2) t ã : k Δ ñ a : g Δ i l r Δ ñ l e : ñ a :
 'Where did you go ?'

Note I. $t\tilde{e}$: is used only for the younger, chiefly children, servants and women. It expresses either deep affection or contempt. A son will always use $t\tilde{e}$: for his mother. Similarly a father for his grown up son or daughter may use $t u$, $t\tilde{u}$: or $t\tilde{e}$:. The high caste people will use $t u$ or $t\tilde{u}$: very often and $t\tilde{e}$: very rarely but the low caste people will always use $t\tilde{e}$:.

dir. Pl. e.g. tũ: lo : g, tu: lo : g, to: fi an lo : g
to: fi an lo g an, to: fi an lo g an i k a fi ʃ : g a i l
r a fi l a : fi a : 'where did you people go?' to : fi ni ka :
k a fi ʃ : g a i l r a fi l a : fi a : s a ni : 'where did you
(younger or menial) people go ?'

Note 2. When *tō : ſn i k a :* is used in dir. singular, it refers to a woman. A husband for example, may ask his wife *tō : ſn i k a : k a ſ i ā : g a i l r a ſ i l u : ſ a : s a n i :* 'where did you (wife) go?'

Obl. sg. (1) t o : f r a : s e or s ẽ k ʌ f l i 'I told you.'
(2) t o : r a : s e or s ẽ k ʌ f l i : 'I told you.'

Obl. sg. and pl. (3) to : f n i : s e or s ē k ʌ f l i :
'I told you or you people'

Note 3. *to: fira:* is ordinarily a respectful term. Thus a son can use it while addressing his father or uncle. But *to:ra:* is used for the younger, chiefly, children, servants and women. In plural *to: firi:* is used for menials, children and women but in singular it is used for wife only.

Obl. pl. *tū:lo:g, tu:lo:g, to: fān lo:g, to: fān logān, to: fān logānise or sē kafi:*
'I told you people.'

Genitive Adj. dir. *e: bfiāja: hāi to: fā:ri kalamī fāwe:* 'O brother! this is your pen.'

Are: dfiobia: to: r ka: na: wā fāwe:
'O, washerman! What is your name?'

e: mā:i: to: r gā fānāwā: kafiā: bā:i
'well mother! where is your ornament?'

Note 4. *to: r* is used chiefly for children, menials, and women irrespective of gender. It either expresses contempt or love.

Genitive Adj. obl., eg. *to: fira: or to: rā lāika: se or sē:* 'from your son.'

In the plural, the oblique is used with the genitive post position *ke*, eg. *hāi to: fān logān ke kalamī fāwe:* 'this pen belongs to you people.'

§46. 2nd pers. honorific.

Masculine and Feminine both.

Sg.

Pl.

rāuā: rāuā: sabfi or sabfiē:

rāurā: rāurā: sabfi or sabfiē.

Genitive Adj. *ra:ur rāuā: sabfi or sabfiē:*
rāurā: sabfi or sabfiē.

(a) There are no separate forms for the direct and oblique. The same form serves for both.

e.g. dir. sg. *rāuā: or rāurā: kafiā: gāil rāfili: hā:* 'where did you (respected sir) go?'

dir. pl. *rāuā: or rāurā: sabfi or sabfiē: kafiā: gāil rāfili: fiā:* 'where did you (respected) people go?'

Obl. sg. h a m r a u ā : or r a u r ā : s e or s ē :
k a f i l i : 'I told you (respected sir).'

Obl. pl. h a m r a u ā : or r a u r ā : s a b f i or s a b f i ē :
s e or s ē k a f i l i : 'I told you (respected) people.'

Genitive. Adj. dir. sg., e. g. r a : u r b a r a d f i : 'your
(respected sir's) ox.' r a : u r or r a : u r i g a : i : 'your
(respected sir's) cow.'

In the plural, the oblique form is used with the
genitive post position ke ; e. g. r a u r a : or r a u ā :
s a b f i or s a b f i ē : k e b a r a d f i : 'you people's
(respected sir's) ox.'

Note 1. A short form r a ò : is used by women. Thus
a women may ask her mother-in-law 'k a f i ā : g a i l
r a f i l i : f i ā : r a ò : 'where did you (respected mother)
go?'

Note 2. This pronoun always takes the verb of the
first person.

\$47. 3rd pers. Masculine and Feminine.

| Sg. | Pl. |
|---|---|
| dir. u, u n f i i
(respectful)
u f i ā : k a : | dir. and { u l o : g
u n f i Δ n l o : g
obl. both. { u n f i Δ n i l o : g
u n f i Δ n i : l o : g
h u n f i Δ n i l o : g |
| obl. o : , u n u k a :
u n f u k a : | dir. { u n f i Δ n i k a : ,
h u n f i Δ n i k a : |
| u f i ā : ,
obl. h u n f u k a : , obl.
o : k Δ r a : , | { u n f i Δ n i :
h u n f i Δ n i
u f i ā : s a b f i |

Genitive Adj. masc. and fem.

u n f u k Δ r , u n f i k Δ r h u n f i k Δ r
 h u n f u k Δ r , u f i ā : k e , o : k Δ r
 h o : k Δ r

Genitive Adj. Fem. only.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| unfi Δ ri, | hunfi Δ ri |
| unfiuk Δ ri, | hunfiuk Δ ri |
| o:k Δ ri | ho:k Δ ri |

dir. sg. u is used for men, children, women, and menials; but in each case the verb changes, unfi is used only to show respect to persons (masculine and feminine) and takes a singular verb. e. g.

uk Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ file:fi Δ :? 'where did he (man) go?'

uk Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ fi Δ l fi Δ :? 'where did he (child or menial) go?'

u k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ fi Δ li: fi Δ :? 'where did she (high caste woman) go?'

u k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ fi Δ li fi Δ :? 'where did she (the low caste woman, mother and sister) go?'

unfi k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ file: fi Δ :? 'where did he (uncle, friend) go?'

unfi k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ fi Δ li: fi Δ :? 'where did she (old woman such as grand-mother) go?'

ufi $\tilde{\Delta}$: ka: k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail r Δ fi Δ li: fi $\tilde{\Delta}$:? 'where did he or she (respected sir or lady) go?'

dir. pl., e.g. ulo:g, unfi Δ n lo:g, unfi Δ ni lo:g, unfi Δ ni: lo:g or hunfi Δ ni lo:g k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail ba:? 'where have they (high caste men) gone?'

e. g. unfi Δ nika: or hunfi Δ nika: k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gail ba:ve: sani:? 'where have they (menials) gone?'

unfi Δ nika: or hunfi Δ nika: k Δ fi $\tilde{\Delta}$: gaili ba:vi: sani:? 'where have they (women) gone?'

obl. sg. e.g. unuka:, unfuka:, hunfuka: se or sē k Δ fi Δ : 'tell him (high caste man or woman)'.

o: se or sē or o:k Δ ra: se: or sē k Δ fi Δ : 'tell him (low caste man or woman)'.

u h ā : se or s ē k a f i Δ : 'tell him (respected sir or lady)'.

obl. pl., u l o : g, u n f i Δ n l o : g, u n f i Δ n i l o : g, u n f i Δ n i : l o : g, h u n f i Δ n i l o : g se or s ē k a f i Δ : 'tell them (high caste men).

u n f i Δ n i or h u n f i Δ n i : se or s ē : k a f i Δ : 'tell them (the low caste men and women).

u f i ā : s a b f i se or s ē k a f i Δ : 'tell them (the respected sirs and ladies).

Genitive. Adj. dir. sg. (masc. and fem.) both ;

e.g. i : u n f i k a r, u n f i k a r, h u n f i k a r, h u n f i k a r l a i k a or l a i k a n i : h a w e : 'this is his (high caste man's) son or daughter'.

i : u f i ā : k e l a i k a or l a i k a n i : h a w e : 'this is his (respected sir's) son or daughter.

i : o : k a r or h o : k a r l a i k a or l a i k a n i : h a w e : 'this is his (menial's) son or daughter'.

Genitive Adj. dir. sg. fem. only.

e.g. i : u n f i k a r i, h u n f i k a r i, u n f i k a r i, or h u n f i k a r i l a i k a n i : h a w e : 'this is his (high caste man's) daughter'.

i : o : k a r i or h o : k a r i l a i k a n i : h a w e : 'this is his (menial's) daughter'.

In the plural, the oblique form is used with the genitive post position k e ; e. g.

u l o : g, u n f i Δ n l o : g, u n f i Δ n i : l o : g, u n f i Δ n i : l o : g or h u n f i Δ n i l o : g k e l a i k a or l a i k a n i : 'those people's (high caste men's) sons or daughters.'

u n f i Δ n i or h u n f i Δ n i : k e l a i k a or l a i k a n i : 'those people's (menial's) sons or daughters.

u f i ā : s a b f i k e l a i k a or l a i k a n i : 'those people's (respected sir's), sons or daughters.

Proximate Demonstrative.

§48. (Masculine and Feminine)

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|------|-------------|-------------------------|
| dir. | i:, hΔi | dir. { i: lo:g or sΔbfi |
| | infi, hinfi | and { hΔi lo:g or sΔbfi |
| | i:fiā: ka: | obl. { infiΔni lo:g |
| | | both { infiΔnika: |
| | | i:fiā: sΔbfi ka: |
| obl. | efi e: he:, | eh, e:, he: sΔbfi |
| | infiika: | or lo:g. |
| | | infiΔni: |

dir. sg. i:, hΔi, infi, hinfi kΔfiā: ja: ta:
re: 'where does he (uncle or father) go?'

i: kΔfiā: ja: ta: 'where does he (the menial) go?'

i:fiā: ka: kΔfiā: ja: ta: ni: 'where does he (respect-
ed sir) go?'

i: lo:g or sΔbfi, hΔi lo:g or sΔbfi, infiΔni
lo:g or sΔbfi kΔfiā: ja: ta: 'where do these
people go?'

infiΔnika: kΔfiā ja: ta: re: sΔni 'where do
these (menials) go?'

i:fiā: sΔbfi ka: kΔfiā: ja: ta: ni: 'where do
these (respected) people go?'

Note:—infiΔni and infiΔnika: are found with
an initial —h— also.

obl. Sg. eh, e: he or infiika: se or sē ka: m na:
cΔli: 'this (servant) cannot work.'

obl. pl. eh, e: he: sΔbfi or lo:g se or sē
ka: m na: cΔli: 'these people (high caste) cannot
work.'

infiΔni: se or sē ka: m na: cΔli: 'these
(menials) cannot work.'

i:, h ai: eh, e: and he: are also used as adjectives irrespective of gender; e. g. i: laika: 'this boy.'
i: laika ni 'this girl.'
h ai ma ra d 'this man.'
h ai me fra: ru:
'this woman'.

Relative and Correlative Pronouns.

\$49. Relative:—

| | sg. | pl. |
|------|------------------------------|--|
| dir. | j e:, j a w a n
j i n f i | j e: l o: g, j e: s a b f i,
j a w a n l o: g, j a w a n
s a b f i, j i n f i l o: g |

dir. sg. & pl. j a w a n i is used in feminine gender only.

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| obl. | j e: k a r a:, j i n f i
j e f i, j a w a n a:
j e: | j e: l o: g, j e: s a b f i
j a w a n l o: g, j a w a n
s a b f i, j i n f i l o: g |
|------|---|---|

Correlative:—

| | | |
|------|------------------------------|--|
| dir. | s e:, t a w a n
t i n f i | s e: l o: g, s e: s a b f i
t a w a n l o: g, t a w a n
s a b f i, t i n f i l o: g
t e: l o: g |
|------|------------------------------|--|

dir. sg. & pl. t a w a n i is used in feminine gender only.

| | | |
|------|--|---|
| obl. | t e: k a r a:, s e: k a r a:
t i n f i, t e f i
t a w a n a:, t e: | s e: l o: g, s e: s a b f i
t a w a n l o: g, t a w a n
s a b f i, t i n f i l o: g
t e: l o: g. |
|------|--|---|

For instance:—j e: or j a w a n j a i s a n k a r i:
s e t a w a n t a i s a n p a: i: or j i n f i j a i s a n
k a r i f i ñ: t i n f i t a i s a n p a i f i ñ: 'as one will do
so one will get'. j e: l o: g, j e: s a b f i, j a w a n l o: g
or j a w a n s a b f i j a: i: s e: l o: g, s e: s a b f i, t a w a n
l o: g, t a w a n s a b f i or t e: l o: g p i t a: i: or
j i n f i l o: g j a i f i ñ: t i n f i l o: g p i t a i f i ñ:
'those who will go will be beaten.' j e: k a r a:, j i n f i,
j e f i, j a w a n a: or j e: k e: b o: l a: w a: t e: k a r a:,

se:kara:, tinfi, tefi, tawana: or te:ke:
 khia:wa: 'give him (something) to eat whom you
 invite.' je:log, je:sabfi, jawan lo:g, or
 jinfilo:g ke:bo:la:wa:se:log, se:sabfi,
 tawan lo:g, tawan sabfi, tinfi lo:g, or te:
 lo:gke khia:wa: 'give them (something) to eat whom
 you invite.' jawani a:ilitawani gaili: '(the
 woman) who came went away.' jawani aili:sa or
 aili:san itawani gaili:sa or gaili:sani:
 '(the women) who came went away.'

(a) The forms of the third person pronoun are freely
 used in place of those of the correlative jawan.

(b) The forms of this pronoun are used as pronominal
 adjective also. They change for gender like ordinary
 adjectives (chapt. III. §31); e.g. jawan laika:,
 jawanilaiki:

§50.

Interrogative Pronoun.

| animate. | sg. | pl. |
|----------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| dir. | ke:, kawān | ke:, kawān lo:g |
| obl. | kekara:,
kawana: | kinfāni:
kawana:lo:g |

dir. sg. kawāni (feminine only).

inanimate.

| | |
|------|---------|
| dir. | ka: |
| obl. | ke:thi: |

For instance:—ke:orkawān a:wa:ta: 'who comes?'

ke:orkawān lo:g a:wa:ta: 'who (people) are
 coming?'

kawāni a:wa:tia: 'who (woman) comes?'

tū:kekara:orkawana:ke:marala: 'whom
 did you beat?'

tū:kinfāni:orkawana:lo:g ke:marala:
 'whom (men or people) did you beat?'

tū:ka:kafāta:ra: 'what do you say?'



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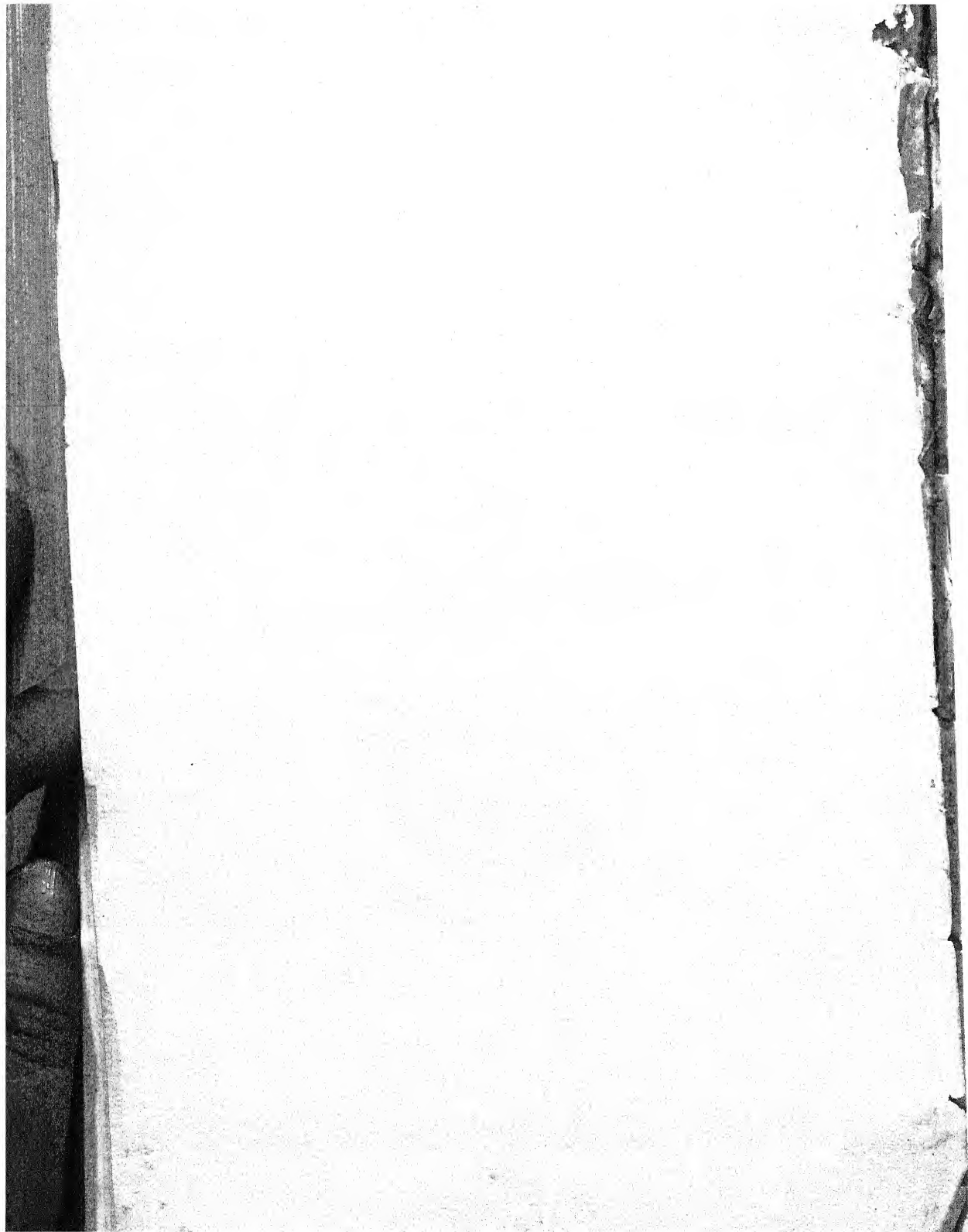
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